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ART. I. *Application of the powers* of the consuls of the United States of America for China, to the amelioration of intercourse with the Chinese.* From a Correspondent. [Continuation of article iv, number ii of the present volume.]

IN the Repository for June last, we gave an outline of a new consular system for Eastern Asia, such as should, in our view, commend itself to an early adoption on the part of the government of the United States. We therein requested, that our countrymen at the southward would fill up this outline as to the regions around them; a request which we still have to repeat, nothing amounting to a modification of our plan, or which would afford important hints to the government of the United States, having yet reached us.

The return of the Himmaleh from her cruise in the Archipelago, has however put us in possession of evidence of what was before assumed, that the independent belt of country lying between the Dutch and Spanish claims, *is* open to commercial and official connections, and that good service would be done by an immediate appointment to our third consular district.

New proof has also been furnished, since our former paper, that it is the steady policy of the Dutch colonial authorities, to bring a great portion of the Archipelago under the closest bondage, and to extinguish all commercial, political and benevolent improvement, whether springing from domestic sources or from foreign interference.

Over the Spanish colonies, the same uncertainty hangs as to their future destiny, and though much may be hoped from the men who

* It will be borne in mind, that we speak of the *powers* of consuls under a *new* system, our demand for which proceeds wholly on the ground, that the ablest officer under the existing system, is deprived of the authority and the instructions requisite for the accomplishment of any useful purpose.

now govern them, the time may be near, when the presence of an efficient officer will be absolutely necessary for the protection of the lives and properties of the American residents.

Nothing has occured, that we are aware of, to lessen the desirableness of some attention to the eastern shores of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula, while it is daily more evident that the western coasts of that island, though without our plan, ought not to be left beyond the regard of the American government. Impressions made on half civilized men are not ineffaceable, and though the Sumatrans will not soon forget the destruction of one of their towns, and the massacre of its inhabitants, yet there is a point beyond which, "remember Quallah Batoo,"— cannot safely be used by the American traders, as a means of intimidation, and a hush-word for all remonstrance. If reports be true, this point will be reached and passed at no very distant day, unless a second interference on the part of the United States, of a different kind we trust, anticipate and avert it.

The interest lately shown by the Siamese in nautical improvements, the uninterrupted residence of American missionaries at their capital, and the probability that the regal power will pass erelong into more liberal hands, make it more and more desirable, that the American executive should still keep an eye to the country, with whose 'magnificent king' it has already formed a treaty. Of Cochinchina, we have no later information either favorable or unfavorable.

We still press the application to these regions of a new system of political agencies, which, while it retains an unpretending name and economical basis, shall elevate the consular officer from a local notary, to a public representative, having his distinct and ample field of official inquiry and action. We do not doubt, that we shall erelong be able to place our readers (including we hope some members of the government in question) in possession of the best information extant, on all these countries. Meanwhile, we devote a few pages to a brief and imperfect application of our proposed consular system, to the empire in which we dwell — to China. In doing this, we proceed upon the conviction, that it is the interest and duty of governments to follow their people in their farthest wanderings, and to watch over the impressions their conduct may convey of the national designs and the national character. It is their interest; for if a long series of acts however petty, are suffered to awaken contempt or suspicion, the after removal or restraining of these sentiments, may cost the negligent government (to say nothing of blood) much time and trouble and treasure. The barriers which have been already raised, under these very circumstances almost all over the east, can be compared to nothing else so well as to the solid and destructive walls, which have grown up in the way of the navigator, in the ocean around us, under an instrumentality which is equally unnoticed and apparently just as contemptible. It is their duty moreover to protect the men, whose honorable exhibitions of the national character, are producing happy results abroad, as well as to check and counteract impressions of an opposite nature.

While a government holds itself bound to discharge this duty, it has however a right to claim from its absent citizens a clear definition of their position, their wishes, and the measures, if any, which they would have it adopt, for their benefit or protection. And when measures have been fairly planned and put in execution by it, on their behalf, either in their silence or by their direction, it should be held to have done its duty, whether successful or unsuccessful. In all such cases, to judge by the event, to use wisdom and success as synonyms, to denounce what time has proved injudicious, is unfair, and especially is it a gross departure from the duty of frank and grateful acknowledgment, which the absent citizen owes to an unforgetting government. This is more particularly true in cases and circumstances where the action of a government is surrounded by unwonted difficulties, when its first efforts are necessarily experimental, and the true path to success can be determined only by having walked in it. To lose sight of all these difficulties, to taunt the government whose representatives have failed in their first attempts to secure the desired protection or relief, is as unjust and cruel as to jeer the enterprising merchant, whose ship may have struck a rock, in seeking its way across an ocean never before traversed. It should in fact, be no more wonder to any, that a new diplomatic field be found full of unforeseen occasions of official failure, than that a new sea should be discovered to abound with hitherto unknown dangers. The track of political missions to the one, may as naturally be expected to be marked by mistakes on either hand, as the charts of the other to be dotted over with the names of the unfortunate ships, whose keels have ascertained its hidden shoals and reefs of coral. The gratitude of the political world, is not less due to those governments, which have contributed by their unsuccessful embassies, to beacon out the way to diplomatic triumphs — in China for instance — than is that of the commercial world to the less fortunate predecessors of Columbus and Vasco de Gama. While an end like this is pursued, through many temporary failures, it is also to be expected, that both governments and their citizens will often owe some indulgence to each other. The citizen will be tempted to complain of the apathy or qualified interposition of government, and the government be annoyed to have to bear with the discordant opinions, which bewilder where they should guide, or to regret the silence which leaves it without any direction whatever. These observations, though they arise on the bare mention of diplomacy in connection with Eastern Asia, are however quite prospective, when applied to American intercourse with China; and this, we wish to be understood, is the only construction to be put upon any remarks contained in this paper.

From the opening of our intercourse with this empire, in 1784, down to the present day, it has been left to itself, the merchant asking no national protection, and the government never affording any. The hasty visits of a few public vessels, have been well received by the American residents at Canton, and their repetition invited, though not productive, as it would appear, of any good whatever. The burden

of a consular system, empowered to tax, but impotent for every other purpose, has been borne with, quietly and patiently. The government has been well content to leave the merchant to his own resources, and has trusted him to make what use he has pleased of its name and character. But if we have interpreted aright the spontaneous effort of the executive to form new treaties in the east, and its demand for a legislative revision of the consular system, the times of this ignorance are nearly past, and we are more than justified in seeking to anticipate and aid the movements, by which we, if any, are to be benefitted or injured. Unless we are mistaken, the only alternative left to our choice is, whether government shall go with us or without us, whether or not we will join 'our partial movement to the master wheel,' and we have therefore hastened to prevent the foreclosure of any deed, which might, if unnoticed, shut us out from some local right or prospective privilege. But we would do more than this, we would offer our conduct to the scrutiny of our fellow-citizens and our rulers, and invite rather than shun the examination, which, if it detect many errors, will at least give new clearness to the definition of duty, and new strength to the motives to discharge it.

Our government is also welcome to our views of its position toward the east, to our estimate of its plans and purposes, and to all the aid which we can lend to the grand end — the amelioration of every form of intercourse. Our first recommendation to it was — provide yourself with, at least, one intelligent correspondent in each of the great divisions of Eastern Asia — possess yourself of the means of information, and be assured that the measures which from time to time present themselves for adoption, will not fail to conduct, if wisely pursued, to an issue equally useful and honorable. To render this recommendation less indefinite, to enforce and exemplify it, we now proceed a step farther, and attempt a brief application of the system already proposed, to our first consular district — to China.

If the United States have no successful or unsuccessful negotiations with the Chinese to look back to — if they have no merits in retrospect — they have at least one consolation. Their backwardness has thrown the burden of discovery on other nations — 'they have no official mistakes to retract, no *faux pas* to recover.' This fact would, however, cease to be a matter of gratulation, were no avail ever to be made of it: if no approach to better terms with China is ever to be attempted, the path thus open might as well be closed forever. But this negative advantage is by no means the only one possessed by the United States: there are other and higher ones. Above the suspicion of any design of territorial usurpation, the American government approaches the nations of Eastern Asia with claims to confidence, which no colony-grasping power can ever offer. It is not only free from embarrassing alliances with other nations, and unencumbered by suspected ecclesiastical establishments, but it has also the still more important advantage of being able to clear itself from all connection with the opium trade, and thus to disarm the Chinese of their great argument, against the freedom or even the desirableness of

foreign intercourse. These advantages belong to the government in its own right, while it has at the same time, in the active and wide benevolence of its citizens, a farther property, which no nation of the European continent can command, and which, even in the case of England, is diverted from China, by the prior obligations her people unquestionably owe to their own fellow-subjects in the colonies. The value of this subsidy must be apparent to every one, who sees in national benevolence the highest commendation of national character and intercourse. It will be illustrated perhaps more clearly than ever before, when the people of America come to regard Eastern Asia, as it is — the grand coliseum of the moral world — the especial arena where their strength should be concentrated and exhausted.

We assume, in this paper, that the government of the United States has become sensible, in some degree, of its happy position for acting on Eastern Asia, and that on the revision of its consular system, it has furnished its agent in China, with instructions to devise and carry out a series of measures, for the amelioration of intercourse between the two countries. We suppose him already at his post, and receiving from the Chinese authorities, not such an acknowledgment as he could wish, but such as brings him into direct or indirect communication with them. Here we suppose him to pause, and before he attempts a direct attack on the Chinese policy, or breaks off from friendly relations on a point of honor or etiquette, we imagine him to sit down to a serious inquiry into the causes of the singular exclusion, under which his countrymen labor, in common with men of other nations. The common law of cause and effect requires this course, and in fact, no rational hope can be entertained of accomplishing, in any other way, the object of his appointment.

The domestic history of China furnishes him with the first clue to the discovery he is in pursuit of. From this it appears, that from a very remote period, China has always stood higher in the scale of civilization and power, than any of the neighboring countries, and that its relations with them have consequently been those of a superior with inferiors. Even in the two instances, when the eastern and western Tartars have taken advantage of falling dynasties and civil distractions to impose their yoke upon the Chinese, the conquerors have been in turn subdued, as the northern barbarians were by the milder skies and higher civilization of Italy. The 'valor of the south' has in both these cases borne out the preference of Confucius, and proved at last triumphant.*

When the consul takes up, in turn, the history of Chinese intercourse with European nations, he will be immediately struck with the apparently exaggerated accounts, given by foreign authors themselves, of the institutions, civilization, wealth, and power of this empire. To

* "To teach men with a patient mild spirit, and not to revenge unreasonable conduct, constitutes the valor of the south, and is the constant habit of the man of superior virtue. To lie under arms and fearlessly meet death, is the valor of the north, and the element of the valiant man." Chung Yung, Sec. 10. This extract throws some light on, what is commonly called, the pusillanimity of Chinese.

account for this style of expression, he will have to remind himself, that China was in many important respects far in advance of Europe, at the time when these descriptions were written. If he can satisfy himself, that it is because the one has been stationary and the other advancing with rapid strides in every noble reform, for two or three intervening centuries, that their relative positions are now so reversed, no more will be needed, but to bear in mind that early impressions are with difficulty effaced, in order to account to himself for the Chinese hallucination, as to their present superiority, as an empire, over every other people.

A further examination of the same accounts, will conduct him to a like conclusion as to the claims of the foreigner to personal superiority, and explain the pertinacity with which the Chinese refuse to admit any such pretension. The best evidence on this point, when summed up, is, that the mercantile character of the 16th and 17th centuries, as exhibited in Eastern Asia at least, was a compound, in which the mean and sordid, the gross and rapacious, were the predominant ingredients. The quiet industry, the sound principle, the sacred regard to promises, the mutual confidence and support, which characterize the modern merchant, if anywhere met with at that time, were the virtues not of the profession, but of the individual. Nor was the clerical character, the remaining form under which intercourse with the Chinese was then conducted, much, if at all, better. The excellencies of Xavier, Ricci, Verbiest and others, were splendid exceptions, and as such were admired and rewarded. But there is little doubt, that the few among the Romish clergy, whose characters bore the impress of science and sanctity, were far outnumbered by the mass, who, on the other hand, were remarkable for nothing, unless it were for ignorance, ambition, and sensuality. This was the character of that priesthood, at the era of the reformation, and again at the breaking out of the French revolution, and such perhaps it is, though in a less degree, at the present day, in Italy and the Peninsula. Nor does the colonial history of the 16th and 17th centuries favor the supposition, that the clergy abroad were better than the clergy at home — or that it was only the self-denying and the pure, who left the church and the convent, and followed the flags of Spain and Portugal around the Cape and across the ocean, to America and India. To some other causes than truer views, or higher toleration, or purer piety, must it be ascribed, that the forced conversions, so frequently enacted in America, were never attempted in China. When we add to those private and now forgotten wrongs,—those causes of hatred or contempt,—the more public contentions and open ambition of papal legates and rival monastic orders, the Chinese conclusion was natural enough —since these are the teachers and patterns of the Europeans, there are none to contest with our own sages, the prize of universal admiration, the reward of preëminent personal excellence.

If such a conclusion was natural as to the individual, two centuries of such intercourse were certainly enough, to bring into use, those epithets of 'crafty,' 'gain-seeking,' 'turbulent,' 'dangerous,' which

were then first stereotyped *in usum imperii*, as characteristic of the mass, and which have ever since been profusely employed by Chinese officials, in the description of foreign character.

In the course of the 18th century, the evidence against the foreign character disappears in a great measure, and it may even be admitted that it worked in its favor. The improved bearing of the merchant, the silenced contentions of ecclesiastics, and the impression made by friendly embassies, may be taken to have more than outweighed the opposite evidence, and to have gained for the foreign name more respect than it had acquired at any prior period. Could the amelioration, which has since gone on so happily in European morals and character, have been fairly shown, and no new spring of suspicion and distrust have been opened, perhaps the estimate made in earlier times, would have yielded at last, to a later, more just and happier one. But before that century was closed, another thorn was planted in the unhealed side, and Chinese statesmen found a new exemplification of the unchanged mercenariness of the foreign character. It then first attracted their notice, that the foreigner was offering the 'vile dirt of other countries, in exchange for the commodities and money of the celestial empire.' From that time to this, no efforts have been spared, on their part, to eradicate this rankling weapon; but so unsuccessful have they been, that the import of opium, which then did not exceed a few hundred chests, has now run up to 28,000, constituting, in value, more than half the whole foreign imports into China. The great majority of the foreign merchants engaging freely in this prohibited traffic, its nature again afforded a false standard whereby to estimate the foreign character, the Chinese seeing, in the opium smuggler, the lineal descendant of the rapacious merchant, and unholy priest of by-gone centuries. The imperial benevolence interposed, by edict upon edict, in favor of the morals and happiness of the subject; the moral sense of the well disposed, and even of the criminals themselves, became the ally of the throne; and the foreigner, his character, and his intercourse, had no adherents left, but the appetites of the most debased and profligate, whose propensities had overmastered conscience.

This direct line of causes, extending down to the present day from A. D. 1500, will, we imagine, conduct the consul to the real question, now at issue between China and the west, and to the means of an early and satisfactory adjustment of it. Were the point at issue one of national rank — of comparative greatness — of just precedence, — the way to arrive at a settlement would be a trial at arms, or rather a joust at statistics. But the ultimate end in view, is not to settle pre-eminence, but to ameliorate intercourse; and the natural way to do this, is first to quiet all distrust of the party seeking this grant, by satisfactory evidence of the purity of his designs, and then to press the suit, by proving the mutual advantages of the desired intercourse If hereditary testimony and present experience concur to fill the Chinese with distrust of the foreign character, no blockade can hinder the circulation of those opinions, and all displays of superior military

prowess, must necessarily tend to convert suspicion into terror. If foreign intercourse be restricted or belied — to prove it a blessing, or to make it such — is the first great preliminary to the demand for its appreciation and freedom.

If these views be just — if the question before the American consul be such as we have represented it — his course will be a clear one, and he will feel bound to address himself, first of all, to the vindication of the name and character of his country, and then, to the acquisition of the desired amelioration. Nothing will induce him to delay or slight this his great duty, the highest service for which he is appointed. The measures he takes for these ends — the immediate and the ultimate — must be strenuous and unremitted. They must be seen to be official acts, emanating not from individual disposition, but from superior direction, bearing the stamp of national policy, and not merely the marks of personal virtue. The truly patriotic and noble object which he has in view, gives him the highest right to the coöperation of his countrymen abroad, and at the same time, the unwonted difficulties which beset his path, claim for him the indulgence of his government. So far as concerns the early intercourse of western nations with China, their errors or their crimes, from 1500 to 1784, he can, as the representative of a new people, disclaim all connection with or responsibility for them. His earliest communications with the Chinese government should contain his protest against any such traveling out of the record, or any transfer to the American account, of charges with which his country has no concern, however justly they may be imputable to other nations. The same communications might also embody a brief sketch of the course of the American trade, and call the attention of the authorities to the proofs exhibited through all this time, that the national characteristics are not 'rapacity, craftiness, and ambition.' These, and many other general elucidations of the policy of the United States, he may have opportunity to offer, without unduly pressing a subject, in itself of no great interest to Chinese statesmen.

It is not our purpose to follow the consul's steps through all the vexed questions, which are still to be settled with the Chinese government. Our object is rather to enforce this principle, to which we have brought him — first place the national character on its proper elevation, and *then* demand that it be respected,—first make the national intercourse purely beneficial, and then insist on its perfect freedom; and we feel assured, that though he may err in the application of it to particular measures, addressed as they must be to a nation whose social and political maxims are as unique as their language, the general influence of his exertions cannot but be highly beneficial.

To bear out this assertion, and at the same time to illustrate the working of the principle assumed, we will proceed to make an application of it to the consul's course, in reference to three instances, now calling for his prompt attention, viz.; to the affairs of the cohong at Canton; to the illicit trade with or without the connivance of the local officers; and to the great 'embarrass' of the day,—the opium traffic.

It is well known to most of our readers, that responsibility is a favorite idea with Chinese officers, and that one of the forms which this theory has taken, is the appointment of thirteen privileged merchants, who are at the same time the chief conductors of the foreign trade, the guaranties to the foreigner for the payment of debts due him from any insolvent member of their body, and the securities to the government both for the good behavior of the barbarian merchants and seamen, and the due collection and payment of the customs accruing on the commerce intrusted to them. The local authorities are the more attached to this system, as it shields them in part from the troublesome claims of foreign creditors, and still more as it affords a good mark for exactions; while the security it lends to the revenue, and its apparent benevolence toward the 'far traveled stranger,' commend it to the supreme government. With the domestic grounds and operation of the cohong system we are not concerned, and shall confine our remarks to its bearing on the foreign, and especially the American, merchant, as it purports to be a guaranty for sums due to him from any hongs coming insolvent. It is proper to premise, that these so called privileged merchants are not one monopoly, in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather *thirteen distinct monopolies*, or polypi of a monopoly. They are, in fact, many of them, more closely connected in feeling with their foreign friends than with each other, and as there is no cohesion among themselves, no *esprit du corps*, it follows that there is no collusion to squeeze the foreigner by the maintenance of monopoly prices. On the contrary, they are, as a body, too regardless of their own interests, content with inadequate profits, so that there is probably no native trade of equal magnitude with theirs, conducted in any part of the world, by any set of commercial agents, however free, for so small a compensation. Moreover, it is, and has long been, the custom with them to permit their friends to share their ill guarded privileges, by trading for their own account under the hong protection; and one, at least, of their body, may be said to keep open doors for any man or number of men, doing business with foreigners, who choose to use him as a shipping broker, for a trifling *kumshaw*, a mere fraction over and above the imperial duty. Under such conduct, and with many exactions and many expenses to boot, it is quite natural that insolvencies should often occur in this body, the members of which have no vote on new appointments, and no right of inspection or control over the transactions of each other. In such cases the understanding is, that their private property is not bound for the debts of the insolvent; and in practice, the local government, instead of looking to their estates, authorizes a special tax to be levied on the general trade for the satisfaction of the claimants. Now common sense, as well as political economy, teach, that though such a tax may for a little while bear injuriously on the commercial agent, it falls at last entirely on the consumer of the taxed article.

The Chinese are not supposed to be adepts in political economy, but they are not deficient in common sense, and moreover, it has been well said of them, that they have a good deal of *art*, though not much

science. We will not undertake to say, that the present is a case in point, but somehow it is found by them that tea and silk are the most convenient articles for taxation, and the result is, that a great proportion of the duty levied to meet the claims on insolvent parties — say four fifths — falls on the exports. Meanwhile the foreign claimants petition against the delinquent hong, his doors are officially closed, the claims are presented, the petitioners insist upon their rights, they demand the benefit of the guaranty assured them by the Chinese government; the local authorities demur, and upbraid them with their sordid neglect of its warnings, in accumulating enormous balances by practicing on the necessities of hard-pressed merchants; at length benevolence and compassion sway its indulgent councils; the claims are admitted, and the petitioners are got rid of by an order from the hong merchants for the larger part of their demands — on whom? On their own countrymen, or rather on the consumers of tea wherever they can find them.

But to cut short our remarks, we foresee that the American consul will be compelled to take up this subject, not only or so much because it touches that sensitive point, the pecuniary interest of individuals or of his country, as because it stands in his way as a vindicator of the national character. His investigations will, probably, lead him to these conclusions. The idea of responsibility running through the whole Chinese polity, and the cohong affording moreover a capital mark for official exaction, it is not probable, that any mere request of a foreign consul will affect its stability, or that the government will throw the market entirely open to the foreigner, unless compelled by the force of irresistible circumstances. While the government interferes so far as to designate certain men with whom only the Americans should trade, it is right that it should furnish some guaranty for their probity, and while the commercial habits of the men, so designated, forbid the idea of their accumulating large profits or even keeping above water, it may be necessary that this security be drawn ultimately from the only solvent party, the consumer. Were the cohong a united body, a *bona fide* monopoly, it would settle this question, by elevating its members far above all fear of insolvency, at the expense of the foreigner. It is not desirable that the members should be liable in their private property for each other's debts, for in such case, their industry and enterprise would be destroyed, by the destruction of all hope of personal reward for their labor. Were Chinese courts, courts of justice, and open to the foreign claimant, as they are in Europe and America, no further guaranty, than the right of action, would be needed by the merchant for the safety of his property. So that, as matters stand in China, it is perhaps best that the merchant have some specific security, some recourse, though it be to the consumer, for the ordinary balances which large transactions must leave uncovered between buyer and seller, and which it is not easy for the foreigner to keep always in his own favor. But at the same time, and for all this, the operation of the guaranty, as it now exists, is a serious grievance, demanding reformation for many and weighty reasons.

It is injurious to the small merchant who dares not incur risks, or cannot lay out of his capital, and is therefore compelled to deal only with the solvent hongs, while his richer competitor is receiving, in the shape of higher prices or interests, a premium of insurance on the sums he intrusts to the weaker hongs, the loss of which, if lost, he expects not to bear, as an assurer, but to throw on the unpaid consumer. It is more or less injurious to other parties, for instance—to the importers of goods, usually exchanged for native merchandise, as it affixes a further money-charge to articles which are intended to be disposed of in barter. It is unfavorable to the trade generally, by increasing imports and checking consumption. It is a personal injury to the consumer, who is the ultimate payer; and when the debts of men of different nations are confounded, as they usually are, it is a national wrong to the country whose debts are in the smallest ratio to its consumption. Its tendency is to do further harm by strengthening the consoo, and reviving from time to time its close control over its members. It is, moreover, a public evil, as it exhibits the foreign character in an unhappy light to the Chinese authorities. This is, perhaps, the main evil, as it gives the authorities just the opportunity they like to have, to throw suspicions on the prudence or the probity of the barbarians—to represent them in fact either as breaking through all the warnings of the government, and the restraints of common prudence in the accumulation of vast claims, or as presenting demands which have no just foundation. And when the adjustment of an insolvency case is made, and both merchants and consuls acquiesce in a settlement of the claims, by a tax on exports without distinction of flags, it may be interpreted by the authorities, for aught we know, that the barbarians must really be as deficient in intelligence, or as regardless of the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, as they have always described them.

If the consul come to conclusions like these,—if he see that the guaranty, like a bad poor law, has made the evil tenfold worse than it found it,—converting a private loss into a public injury,—he will endeavor to devise some remedy. He will represent to his countrymen, that the guaranty is to be regarded by them as a security for the necessary current balances of the trade, and not as a motive for augmenting them; that the Chinese regulations are to be observed, both as respects the limitation of the amount to be trusted, and the time when such credits are to be canceled. To the authorities he will make it plain, that he understands the working of the hong system, and treats it, with its pretended guaranty, as it deserves,—as a creature of their own,—useless to the foreigner, serving only their own purposes. Until it can be exchanged for a better system, he will see that it do as little harm as possible, and, if just claims arise from any quarter, he will insist that they be satisfied out of a tax on the imports from the country, to whose citizens the debts are owing. If all discrimination between flags, and between exports and imports be refused or evaded, he will protest that there is very little benevolence or justice in the confusion, and refer the matter to his govern-

ment. His interference will not have been in vain, if it clear, in any degree, the title of the American merchant to his true character, *haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei.*

The second instance, which we selected for the illustration of our views of consular interposition, was the illicit trade now carried on in the waters of China, partly in defiance, and partly with the connivance of, the provincial officers. In this illustration, we leave the opium traffic out of view, and suppose that the trade, though illicit, is confined to an exchange of articles in themselves useful or not injurious. When the consul approaches this question, he will soon discover, that he has not merely to solve the easy problem, whether merchants resident in China ought to abide by the tariff of the country by law established. There is a previous question still open, and he will have conferred a great boon on the residents, when he has so adjusted it, as to leave them nothing but obedience to the sanctions, which, in every country, enforce the just demands of the civil government.

The true difficulty in the case is this—the supreme government, a long time ago, framed a tariff applicable to the foreign trade, and by so doing made the subject a matter of imperial concern and regulation. But this tariff is, and always has been, carefully concealed from the foreigner, by the officers in contact with him, for reasons best known to themselves; and, so far as its provisions can be ascertained, these original duties bear only the proportion of one to two, or one to ten, as the case may be, to those actually levied. Now the great question is, does the foreigner owe obedience to the imperial or to the provincial standard? Are the additions constitutionally made and therefore binding? Or, are they mere local exactions, unauthorised by the proper authorities, and to be treated as such? Does the concealment of the imperial tariff imply as much, and is the supreme government itself hardly less culpable than the provincial, when it abandons the foreigner to the local officer, without a standard for his guidance or protection? After suffering its fiscal laws to be concealed, is it right in prohibiting the study of the language in which they are written, and sending the subject of them to the exactor himself for their oral interpretation? Very various replies have been, and still are, given to these queries, as self-interest or scrupulosity chance to predominate in the answerer. A correct decision involves more than can now be known by the private man, of facts, of the constitutional powers of the provincial officers, &c., and under this uncertainty, it cannot be thought strange, if in our day, when the doctrine of passive obedience is out of vogue, and especially if amongst born and bred republicans, the line of duty be drawn a good way on this side of sir Robert Filmer. The residents at Canton act under these circumstances as men do everywhere, when the temptation is strong, the duty uncertain, the restraint weak, and the risk nothing. They smuggle, some eagerly, some complacently, some reluctantly, but in one or other of the forms to be described, justifiable or unjustifiable, they smuggle, or rather *we* smuggle. This is that *casus fœderis*, on which we, as Americans, claim the interference of our govern-

ment. If there be any possible case, in which that interposition cannot be refused, it is when it is called in to decide, as to the duty its citizens owe to the laws of other countries. From whatever obligations toward us our voluntary exile has discharged our country, from *such* it has not absolved her, nay she owes it to her own interests and honor. We do not ask the government of the United States to turn casuist and settle for us our cases of conscience, but, as the power to which we have delegated the adjustment of all matters of international right and duty, we say to it, ascertain for us what is our duty toward the government of China, relieve us from this uncertainty, which is as painful to us, as it is injurious to you,— and we declare, that, cost what it may, we will meet your requisitions or forfeit your protection.

A little investigation will show the consul, that the evasions of the Chinese fiscal laws differ considerably in character, and of course demand different treatment. The most frequent forms are the illicit storage and transhipment of goods at Lintin, evasion of duties by collusion with the provincial officers of some grade or other, and the smuggling by professed smugglers. These modes of evasion do not form a complete catalogue, but they are enough for all the purposes of illustration.

The first of these departures from Chinese regulations, the storage and transhipment business, though now lying under repeated interdicts, is the least objectionable. It is chargeable in great part to the Chinese ignorance of any debenture or bonding system, or, if such be known to them, to their refusal to adopt either the one or the other. In explanation of this prohibited business, it is to be said, that the commodities carried from China to countries west of the Cape of Good Hope, being much more bulky than those brought to it from the same quarter, it naturally occurs that many ships arrive in the Chinese waters with little or no cargo. Moreover the infrequency of direct opportunities leads to the shipment via China of goods destined to Manila, and which must be transhipped for that place on the vessel's arrival in the Chinese waters. The necessity which thus arises would be met, in any commercial country, by the provisions of a transit entry. And again, the great distance of the countries trading with China, the fluctuation of prices, or the misconception of what is suitable to a people of quite different tastes and habits, often result in the shipment of goods to Canton which are afterwards found unsaleable there, and must be reshipped to some other market, or returned to the place of production or manufacture. A further inducement to extensive transhipments exists in the regulation which admits vessels with rice cargoes under a port charge of $1200, while vessels bringing other merchandise, or even coming empty, pay $3000 to $6000. It is, therefore, the interest of vessels bringing but few goods, to tranship them, take in rice, and escape the higher port charge, which in the present day is paid on as few vessels as can carry up the river the merchandise imported. This motive to transhipment may be regarded as a weak one, but the case is much stronger as respects

goods which have been actually landed in Canton, and which it is afterwards found necessary again to reship. These not only do not get the benefit of a drawback, but they are loaded with an export duty, seldom lighter, and usually much heavier, than that paid on importation. Possibly the Chinese may not understand the working of the outside transhipments, as connected with the grace to rice vessels, or their edicts against the receiving ships may be pointed against them chiefly as depôts for opium, but they cannot be blind to the injustice which catches, as in a trap, the unfortunate importer of unsuitable goods, nor wonder if he compare their port to the cave in the fable, whose entrance bore many marks of the ingress of unwary visitants, but none of their egress.* In one view, the authorities which enforce such a regulation, in regard to foreign commerce, are, to say the least, quite as culpable, as the stranger who evades them; and when we call him a smuggler, we do not mean to assert that he is in the least degree criminal, but merely that he eludes a part of the fiscal system of the country. But the whole business is a grievance and a scandal, and therefore calls for the attention of a government careful of the interests of its citizens and of its own honor. The consul should use an early opportunity to bring before the provincial authorities the foreign estimate of the subject, explain the usages prevailing in all commercial countries on this point, the just and equitable grounds on which they rest, and suggest a remedy for the evils hitherto felt in China. The exchange of the kumshaw and measurement, or port charge referred to, for an equivalent duty on goods, would remove a part of the evil. The introduction of a bonding or debenture system would be a far more effectual remedy, and it is easy to apply it, under such checks as would render it on the Chinese part a perfectly safe concession. So long as their regulations detain ships twenty-four hours or more outside, waiting for pilot, they are bound to designate some safe anchorage. This anchorage (which should be Kumsing Moon) affords an unobjectionable opportunity to effect any necessary transhipment, or to bond goods destined to other ports, or which it is desirable should not be introduced immediately. Indeed, the whole bonding system might be carried out here under the eye of Chinese officers, and an entry for Canton, be considered an entry for consumption. Or, it may be required, that the entry for Canton be made within a given time, and the bonding or debenture be arranged afterwards through the hong merchants. The right of search, not being claimed by the Chinese in ordinary cases, it is not desirable that it be conceded, until proper checks can be obtained against its injurious operation. It is within the power of the consul to show, that it is the interest of the Chinese to dissociate the storage of lawful merchandise from the storage of prohibited goods, and since they have long permitted a transhipment of teas at Whampoa, whenever

* The Chinese prohibit the reëxportation of foreign metals, expect three tenths of the silver brought in any one vessel. In this fondness for metallic imports, and in the care with which they guard their native mines, they imitate the Japanese, or perhaps the national prejudice in both cases comes from the same origin.

vessels have been overladen by mistake, it is only becoming that they concede to constantly recurring cases of equity, what they never refuse to accidental necessity. If the local authorities refuse all consent to these changes, the appeal is open to Peking, and in any event, the American resident will have the satisfaction of knowing, that he pursues his interest in these matters under the national protection, or that he sacrifices it in obedience to the claims of national honor.

The evasion of duties by collusion with the revenue officers goes on, at Whampoa, through the agency of the hoppo's boats, or tide waiters, appointed to guard each ship, and at Canton, by arrangements made between the linguists, hong clerks, and the custom-house examiners. In the former case, a hoppo-man agrees to land certain goods from on board the ship, at one half or one third of the provincial duty, or to buy them at a price so much above the market value. In this case the collusion does not probably extend beyond the very lowest grade of revenue officers employed on the river, and no money reaches the imperial treasury. In the Canton moral code, which is rather that of Paley than of Dymond, this is considered smuggling, while the second mode of evasion, through the linguist, is, we believe, regarded as a fair introduction. It has its advantages and its disadvantages. It certainly carries the goods entered through all the forms of a legal introduction, and breaks down only at the not unimportant point, that of payment into the treasury. To take an instance; four small bales of cotton goods, say each containing 25 pieces, are strapped together at Manchester, that they may pay one half-crown instead of four to the Liverpool shipping merchant, and are delivered, in the same state, over the ship's side at Whampoa, into the chop-boat or lighter. They are noted on the chop list as one package, and when landed at Canton, if an honest set of examiners are present, duty is paid on the 100 pieces. But when so good a chance presents, it is quite as usual to make one small bale do homage to the emperor for the whole four, and the duty on the remaining three is divided between the foreign merchant, the linguist, and some dozen more of his Chinese associates. When the settlement of duties on the ship's cargo comes to be made, the smuggled goods are suppressed, and the duties on those really entered are paid to the hong merchant directly, or sometimes, if the linguist be a responsible man, through the linguist. The foreigner, in this case, goes through the whole legal form of entry; he treats with the persons expressly appointed by the government to explain to him what the duties are and to collect them from him; he does not cause the revenue to be defrauded, only he is privy to and shares the spoils of the collusive entry. Some years ago, these arrangements were made so extensively, that we believe we are right in saying, that the general estimate of duties was the rate at which the linguist would introduce goods, and no one pretended to know what the real duty was, or what the linguist's arrangement was, but merely made the best bargain he could for the article to be entered. Afterwards, when the local officers began to examine and levy more carefully, the partial effect was as if the im-

port duty had been increased 20, 30, or 40 per cent., and parties who had always refused to introduce goods by smuggling boats, or through the hoppo-men, were tempted to do so, in order to save themselves from severe losses on articles thus suddenly subjected to an unexpected imposition. Now it will be admitted, on all hands, that the foreign merchant, kept in the dark as to the real tariff, subjected to numerous exactions, is strongly tempted to take his interest or his exasperation for his guide, and to seek in the corruptibility of the lower officers, a refuge from the cupidity of the higher. It is not always between interest and duty, but between two duties, that he is distracted,—between his duty to the government, and his obligation to his absent principal and employer. Comparing himself to a man who has fallen among thieves, he maintains that he has a full right to save a little of his property, by agreeing with the bandit especially commissioned to strip him, to go halves with him and conceal from the rest of the gang that he ever had any. Certain of nothing, but that he is made to pay much more than he ought, he comes to look on the sums extracted from him in times past, as a fund on which he may draw for plenary indulgence as to all present and future sins fiscal.

But whatever personal exculpations may be put forth in these cases, it is manifest that the whole system has a most unfavorable effect on the Chinese estimate of the foreign character. These evasions cannot but be known extensively, nor can they do less, wherever known, than awaken suspicion of the foreigner on the score of probity. Even the local officers, who share the spoils, cannot think very well of their associates, and if we suppose that any loftier spirits among them, ever rise to stations of influence, they must carry with them no good recollections of the strangers, from whose crafty evasions, it was their early exercise to defend the revenues of their imperial master. The foreign government which consents to bear the weight of such injurious impressions, to slumber over a system so unhappy, that the only parties that can have any interest in its continuance, urge that it be broken up, consents, not to say deserves, 'to suffer as an evil-doer.'

These reasons are enough: the consul must be instructed to demand a tariff and a copy of the custom-laws, under no less a sanction than the vermilion pencil itself, and if the provincial officers, to whom this 'glorious uncertainty' is worth perhaps $1,000,000 per annum, refuse to forward such a request, the United States will relieve it of that unwelcome office, and meanwhile register all sums paid by American citizens for duties, to be recovered back, if found to exceed the imperial standard. His declaration, that the United States would have all their citizens abroad bear an unimpeachable character, his disavowal of all sanction on their part of individual illegalities, must satisfy the supreme government, and if any injurious regulation now evaded, is revived against the merchant, it is a fair subject for further negotiation.

The last form of evasion which we have alluded to, is the running of goods in smuggling boats, or outright smuggling. This was extensively practiced not long ago, before 'fast crabs and scrambling

dragons' were destroyed by the exertions of the present governor. This mode of illicit importation may be less objectionable than the last, as to its influence in corrupting the native officers, or rather, as it makes the foreigner a less direct instrument in offering the temptation. But on the other hand, it raises up and maintains a desperate class of men in the bosom of the community, whose outlawed condition removes them from social restraint, exposes them to extraordinary temptation, and doubtless sinks them, in a multitude of instances, in crime and ruin. So long as their collusion with the officers of the preventive service is perfect, these final evils do not show themselves, but it is probable that neither here nor anywhere else can such a system prevail long, without involving collision and bloodshed. Our conclusion, therefore, is, upon full consideration, and we doubt not that the consul will arrive at the same, that no time should be lost in clearing the American community from all connection with this practice, by treating all such offenses against the Chinese laws as offenses against the American interests and character.

But the instances which we have thus far made use of all yield to the opium question, in intrinsic importance, and also as an occasion for the consular interposition. A fair, though not perhaps a full, view of its present position may be gathered from the following extracts, from some able Chinese official papers, lately made public, full translations of which our readers will find in the numbers of the fifth and present volumes of the Repository. From these documents it appears, that opium was an article legally imported at Canton, under a low duty, down to 1796, in which year, it first attracted the notice of the then governor of Canton, a member of the imperial family. This officer, 'regarding it as a subject of deep regret, that the vile dirt of foreign countries should be received in exchange for the commodities and money of the empire, and fearing lest the practice of smoking opium should spread among the people of the inner land, to the waste of their time, and destruction of their property,' besought and obtained its prohibition. This prohibition has been continued ever since, and the offense at length made capital on native parties; but notwithstanding this, the import, which then varied from 1000 to 2000 chests, has since run up to 28,000, and is still rapidly increasing. The domestic feeling in which this interdict originated is further illustrated in the proclamation of the governor of Canton, in 1820. 'As every region has its usages and climate proper to itself, the celestial empire does not forbid you people (of the west) to make and eat opium, and extend the habit in your dominions. But that opium should flow into the interior of this country, where vagabonds clandestinely purchase and eat it, and continually become sunk in the most stupid and besotted state, so as to cut down the powers of nature and destroy life, is an injury to the minds and manners of men of the greatest magnitude, and therefore opium is most rigorously prohibited by law.' It may be necessary to add here, as a further explanation of all this outward care on the part of the Chinese government for the morals and well-being of its people, that its ancient patriarchal constitution originally

invested its head with full paternal control over all these matters, and made it almost as great a crime for a ruler to license public vices, as for a father to sell the means of self-destruction to a son for money. The ancient maxims of Confucius breathe the same spirit when they say, 'Nourish the people as the mother does her tender offspring;' and, 'How delightful is it when a prince is the father and mother of his people!' Thus while the colonial governments, all over the east, are turning the vices of their subjects to great account as sources of revenue, the Chinese, instead of selling licenses to smoke opium, prohibit it entirely.

We return now to resume our examination of the documents referred to. After a long and ineffectual struggle carried on against the opium traffic, a party in the political circles, wearied with the contest, or secretly favorable to the drug, or regarding its legalization as the less of two evils, came forward (August, 1836,) to propose the removal of the prohibitions. The plan no doubt was, that a leading minister at Peking should move the measure, that it should be supported by the Canton authorities on its reference to them, and, coming back with their local approval, it was supposed that the imperial sanction would not be withheld from it. Heu Naetse, the vice-president of the sacrificial court, was the person selected to bring forward this important motion, and his able memorial, no doubt, produced among the Chinese, as well as the foreign residents, a considerable sensation. On looking over this remarkable state paper, the first thing which strikes us is, that it is not on any abstract ground that the proposed change of measures is recommended. Heu Naetse does not deny the evils resulting from the opium traffic, nor question that the existing prohibition is perfectly constitutional, nor does he argue that public opinion, or any other popular power, rather than official edicts, is the proper safeguard of the morals and wellbeing of the people. He rests his measure on grounds of expediency only. 'The nations of the west,' he premises, 'have had an open market in China for upwards of a thousand years, while the dealers in opium are the English alone. It would be wrong for the sake of cutting off the English trade, to cut off that of all the other nations. Besides, the hundreds of thousands of people living on the seacoast, depend wholly on trade for their livelihood, and how are they (in such case) to be disposed of? Moreover, the barbarian ships, being on the high seas, can repair to any island that may be selected as an entrepôt, and the native sea-going vessels can meet them there: it is, then, impossible to cut off the trade. Though the commerce of Canton should be cut off, it will not be possible to prevent the clandestine introduction of merchandise.' Taking all this — and it is an important admission — for granted, the vice-president adverts to the evils flowing from the opium trade, and proceeds to press the expediency of his measure of legalization. One argument is, that it will divest the traffic of all the objections peculiar to it as an illicit commerce, and relieve the innocent people, who now suffer under the abusive and extortionate exactions of the officers of the preventive service. But his main argument

is, that, if opium be legalized, while the export of silver remains prohibited, it will come to be exchanged for goods only, and thus more than 10,000,000 of money will be annually saved to the empire. Our readers are aware, that the Chinese currency is purely metallic, and that either the depreciation of their copper money, or the inadequacy of their circulating medium to the demands of an increasing commerce, or the close restrictions which guard the native mines, or the exportation of silver which has been going on for some years, at the rate of $3,000,000 to $6,000,000 per annum, or all these causes combined, have produced a real or apparent scarcity of that metal, and thrown the financial affairs of the country, for some time past, into as great difficulty, as if it had fallen a prey to some merciless bank-monster. Heu Naetse shares in the general anxiety; the idea, that 'the easily exhaustible stores of the central spring should go to fill up the wide and fathomless gulf of the outer seas,' occupies his mind, and the lives of the people, and the dignity of the government, are small matters with him, if 'perchance a plan may be devised to stop the farther oozing out of the money, and to replenish the national resources.' 'It will be found,' he says, 'on examination, that the smokers of opium are idle lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them, andthat they are unworthy of regard or even of contempt. Although there are smokers to be found, who have overstepped the threshold of age, yet they do not attain to the long life of other men. But new births are daily increasing the population of the empire, and there is no cause to apprehend a diminution therein; while on the other hand, we cannot adopt too great or too early precautions against the annual waste which is taking place in the resources — the very substance of China.' And again he says, 'so long as the removal of restrictions on the use of opium is confined to the common and vulgar people, who have no official duties to perform; so long as the officers of government, the scholars, and military are not included, I see no detriment to the dignity of government.' Let none 'that are called on to fulfill the duties of their rank, and attend to the public good, or to cultivate their talents, and become fit for usefulness, be permitted to contract a practice so bad, or walk in a path which will lead only to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property,' on pain of dismissal from the public service. But these exceptions made, he concludes, 'if we still idly look back and delay to retrace our steps, foolishly paying regard to a matter of mere empty dignity, I humbly apprehend that when it is proved impossible to stop the importation of opium, it will then be found that we have waited too long, that the people are impoverished, and their wealth departed.' In short, the vice-president puts the 'lazy vagrants,' along with the 'empty dignity' into one scale, and the 10,000,000 into the other, and exclaims, 'on which side is the gain, on which the loss? It is evident at a glance.' The silver is the heavier.

The memorial of Heu Naetse was accepted by the emperor, with all the indifference of Adam Smith's 'impartial spectator,' and referred to the provincial officers of Canton, who returned a very favorable

report, along with a set of provisions for the regulation of the opium trade, after the removal of the prohibition. But at this stage, a new and apparently unexpected opposition to the proposed measure arose, on the part of two statesmen, no less able than Heu Naetse and his Canton supporters. Choo Tsun, member of the council and of the Board of Rites, and Heu Kew, sub-censor over the military department, presented counter memorials, and it would appear that, for the present at least, they have out-argued the legalization party. These able men agree with their opponent in his estimate of the evil of the opium traffic, and lament with him, that the fine silver is daily lessening in quantity, and the price still rising, so that for want of it, the officers of government and the people are both alike crippled. They further agree, that 'the true cause of this diminution is its clandestine exportation,' and that 'the chief medium by which it is drained off, to fill up an abyss of barbarous nations, that never can be filled,' is the purchase of opium. They concur in the remarkable admission, that 'to put an entire stop to the commercial intercourse of western nations in one day, would be derogatory to the high dignity of the celestial empire, productive of any but good results, and in fact impracticable.' But when they come to the measures proper to be adopted in this exigency, they part company with their antagonist. Legalize the importation, take care of the silver, the precious silver, and let 'the vulgar people be the victims of their self-sacrificing folly if they will,' is the language of Heu Naetse. The counter memorialists reply;—the welfare of the people, the dignity of government, the safety of the state itself, forbid this course, and we demand, that the already severe laws against the drug, in every stage of its progress, be strictly and even capitally enforced. In their opinion, the sloth and remissness of the officers entrusted with the enforcement of the restrictions are the real causes why the resources of the empire are now, and for so long a period have been, subjected to so fatal a drain. They do not value the 'fine silver' less than their opponent, but they prize the people more. 'The wide spreading and baneful influence of opium,' says Choo Tsun, 'when regarded simply as injurious to property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands the most anxious consideration. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends, yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved; whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury.'* 'At the present moment,' he adds, 'the minds of men throughout the empire are in imminent danger; the more foolish being seduced by teachers of false doctrines, are sunk in vain superstitions, and cannot be aroused, and the more intelligent, being intoxicated by opium, are carried away as by a whirlpool, and are beyond

* These sentiments will remind the English reader of Goldsmith's lines:

"Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
"A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
"But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
"When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

recovery.' 'If the prohibitions be suddenly removed, and the action which was a crime be no longer accounted such by the government, how shall the mean among the people know that the action is still in itself wrong?' The memorialists had been obliged, in petitioning for the legalization, to draw a line between the 'common people,' and the 'capped and belted men of distinction and learning.' This distinction, Choo Tsun demolishes at a single blow. 'The common people of the villages,' he says, 'do not smoke now. But if the measures of the government be such as to permit, nay, to induce these to smoke, can it be hoped that the officers, scholars, and military will be made to refrain? What,' he asks, 'are there any of these officers that are born in civil and military situations, or of these scholars and soldiers that are born such? All certainly are raised up from the level of the common people; and, if while among them they were smokers, by what bands of law can they, after their promotion, be restrained?'

On the repeal of the prohibitions, as affecting the dignity of government, the opinion of Choo Tsun is thus expressed. 'Having once expelled the English dealers in opium and suppressed the trade, (in 1821,) shall we now call upon them again, and invite them to return? This would be indeed a derogation from the true dignity of government. The partial remedy afforded by the old enactments is surely better than such a change of laws.' The ground which Heu Kew takes on the same point is still higher, and his decision still more clear. 'Having a conviction,' he says, 'that the thing is highly injurious to men, to permit it notwithstanding to pervade the empire, nay, even to lay a duty on it, is conduct quite incompatible with the yet uninjured dignity of the illustrious celestial empire.'

But these statesmen are not content with meeting their opponent on his own ground. They go beyond him, and assert, that the question at issue concerns the safety, the independence of China. From the history of neighboring countries, as well as their own, they derive inferences on this point, to which we entreat the friends of eastern amelioration, if there be any such among the politicians of the west, to listen, for they throw light on the Chinese estimate of foreign designs and foreign intercourse. 'In the history of Formosa,' Choo Tsun says, 'we find the following passage. The natives of Kaoutsinne, were at the first sprightly and active, and, being good soldiers, were all successful in battle. But the people called Hungmaou (red haired) came thither, and, having manufactured opium, seduced some of the people into the habit of smoking it, so that in process of time the natives became feeble and enervated, submitted to the foreign rule, and ultimately were completely subjugated. Now the English are of the race call Hungmaou. In introducing opium into this country, their object has been to weaken and enfeeble the central empire. If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves erelong on the last step towards ruin.' And turning to domestic authority, he adds, 'reverently perusing the sacred instructions of your majesty's all-wise progenitor Kanghe, I find the following

remark made by him in the 10th month of the 55th year of his reign, (A. D. 1717)—'There is cause for apprehension lest, in centuries or millenniums to come, China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the west, who come hither from beyond the seas,'—and now, within the period of two centuries, we actually see the commencement of that danger, which he in his divine and all-pervading foresight apprehended.

The charge, that opium is brought to China, not for private profit, but for the purposes of political subjugation, is not reiterated by Heu Kew, but he closes his memorial with equally clear allusions to future collisions, and in a much bolder strain. After recommending that the severest penalties be inflicted on native offenders, and urging the government to turn if necessary on the foreign dealers in opium,—to apprehend them,—'to require them to write to the king of their country, telling him that opium is a poison, which has pervaded the inner land, to the material injury of the people, and that the government, in consideration that they are barbarians and aliens, forbears to pass sentence of death on them, but if they do not desist from the trade, their commercial intercourse will be interdicted, and the laws executed on them capitally,'—he resolutely adds, 'As to the fear that such severity may lead to a contest with foreign nations, again and again I have revolved this subject, and reconsidered, how that, while in their own country no opium is smoked, the barbarians yet seek to poison therewith the people of the central flowery land, and I have, therefore, regarded them as undeserving that a single careful or anxious thought should be entertained on their behalf.' 'If their designs be evil, and they are left to go on from step to step, until our people are worn out, and the wealth of our land wasted away, how I ask, if any difficulty then occur, shall it be warded off? Rather than be utterly overthrown hereafter, it is better to exercise consideration and forethought now, while our possession of the right gives us such energy and strength, that those barbarians will not dare to slight and contemn our government.'

We have already remarked, that the arguments of the counter-memorialists have for the present prevailed. Report says, that the conviction is very general throughout the country that the traffic cannot be prevented, but that the emperor recoils from an act that might awaken against himself the indignation of the virtuous portion of his people, and rank him among those unworthy sovereigns of by-gone times, whose names still pass among the Chinese of the present day as proverbs of wickedness. We have no correct calculus to apply to the probabilities, whether this indignation will be laid asleep, by yet more potent doses of the drug, or whether the dread of posthumous infamy will always bear its present sway in the imperial breast. Meantime one thing is certain, the drug has been more boldly and actively smuggled within the Bogue of late, than at any time since 1821. The authority of the provincial governor is exerted in such a manner, as to fill the prisons with offenders, while it interposes scarcely any check to the introduction of the article, and the inference is

that he and his disappointed associates are still working for their favorite measure of legalization.

Our object in making these long extracts has been, to show the feeling prevailing at Peking. They place the statesmen of a great empire before us, in a singular dilemma; casting lots, it may be said, whether the national wealth, the lives of the people, the honor of the government, or the independence of the state, shall be sacrificed on the altar of foreign intercourse, for the preservation of the rest. They say nothing of the centuries of unworthy exhibitions of foreign character which have passed, nothing of the mercantile rapacity or priestly ambition of former times; all the apprehensions of foreign designs, and the evidences of foreign malevolence, are centred in the opium trade. They describe the introducer of opium, as the author of the most pressing evils of the country, the consumer of its substance, the destroyer of its people, the corrupter of its officers, and the plotter of its final subjugation. They afford, we think, unanswerable testimony, to the truth of the principle with which we set out, that the question immediately at issue between the Chinese and foreign governments, is a question of character, the clearing up of which is strictly preliminary to every anticipation of bettered intercourse. We take them as such, and we repeat that on the part of the latter, this vindication of character, this clearing up of designs, this proof of just and worthy purposes, does and of right ought to precede the demand of free and confiding intercourse. Until it is proved that cupidity, craftiness, rapacity, and ambition are not the characteristics of the suspected party, the question now open, if such it be, cannot be brought to a proper issue. It may be disposed of by an appeal to arms, or it may remain undisposed of, but in no other way than that which we have indicated, can it be fairly settled. No lapse of time, or effusion of ink or blood, can restore the foreigner to his forfeited honors, unless the attainder and the corruption be first reversed and done away by the redemption of the foreign character. It is in vain to talk of rights and justice, and run through the whole vocabulary of innocence struggling against oppression. It is in vain to vapor of national honor and dignity, and to call on the crowned or uncrowned executives of the west to avenge the insults done to their people or their pictures. Should they come in any other shape than that of respondents to the gravest accusations, their lofty language or proud pretensions would only add to the difficulty — they would inevitably be received as a confession, in advance, to the unpreferred charge of unblushing arrogance, at a time when, and before a tribunal where, it were more becoming to lay aside the sturdy tone, and either demand an acquittal humbly, or sue for respect and protection, *sub formâ pauperis.*

It is right and proper, then, that the American agent, in the work of amelioration should begin here. And since the worst suspicions of foreign designs are pointed at in the opium trade, since its magnitude is the strongest argument to the Chinese, that foreign intercourse is an evil and not a good, his chief business for a time is, to prove

that his *government* has no sympathy with the traffic, and to preserve, if he can, the whole legitimate commerce of the country from suffering by implication with one obnoxious branch of it.

The historical explanations the American consul can make would be of no use on this point, as the traffic in the drug has almost wholly grown up since 1784. Neither can he shelter himself under the declaration that America produces no opium, for, although the memorials which we have drawn on state this fact, and appear to regard the English as the sole criminals in the case, yet it is no secret here, that the opium of Turkey has long been imported on American account, that American vessels store it at Lintin, that the American flag covers it up the coast, and that one at least of thé American residents at Canton has already been included in an edict of expulsion on its account. The consul must, therefore, meet the case, as one which, if it criminates England, implicates his government also, though to a less extent. He will not, probably, accept the benefit of the compassionate excuse, made in favor of his countrymen by the governor of Canton, in 1821, that they were emboldened to the trade, because 'they had no king to rule over them.' Disdaining all pretexts, one of his first measures will be, to inform the Chinese government, on what grounds his superiors have at any time permitted their citizens to carry on a prohibited and injurious trade. He must distinctly state, that their views of justice require that no criminal, however guilty, be ever twice punished for the same offense, and that, never doubting the ability of the Chinese executive to vindicate its own laws, they have left their citizens to the legal consequences of their own actions, deeming it improper to interfere, except by after remonstrance, should they prefer any well grounded complaint. Simple and supererogatory as this explanation may appear, it is not going too far to assert, that the governments of China and the west have always been at cross-purposes on this very point. The mutual misunderstanding it is not difficult to account for, nor to remove. Western governments are accustomed to usages, which lay the stranger and the native citizen under the full operation of the same local laws. It seems but right to them, that the Chinese who repairs to England, for instance, shall breath its free air, and at the same time be liable, if he smuggle, to the penalties of its fiscal code. They suppose that the same is the case with the foreign resident at Canton. But the fact is, that he remains an alien in his new home, under an undefined jurisdiction, partly administered by the chief or consul of his own nation, and partly by the Chinese. It is true that the foreign representatives have refused, in some instances, to lend themselves to the Chinese, as instruments for punishing offenses against the local laws; but these very applications proceed on the admission of some authority, and these special disavowals have been coupled with assertions of a right of general control over their countrymen, though abandoned at that particular time. It is not, therefore, a wonder that the Chinese authorities, knowing that the British E. I. Company possessed the right of deporting their countrymen, and that the

Portuguese at Macao exercised judicial power over theirs, even in capital cases, should suppose that the same representatives, or their successors, *can* order off their people from smuggling the 'vile dirt' on the coast. And when such an exertion of the representatives' authority is refused and no explanation is annexed, it is as natural that the Chinese inference should be,—there is collusion in the case—the foreign governments protect the opium trade! Now this error, so far as it touches his country, it is the business of the American consul to correct. He must have an understanding with the Chinese authorities, where his own authority begins, and where it ends; but more than this, he must make it clear, how far his countrymen in China are protected, and how far not. No historical explanations are complete, no proofs that America is incapable of colonizing or plotting the subjugation of an independent state are valid, without this. It is, in fact, a most reasonable thing that the American residents in every foreign country should make their choice, either to pursue that course which merits and may claim the protection of their country, or to deviate from it at their own risk. It is not right, that the traffic in opium, while regarded as it is by the Chinese government, apart from all moral considerations, should continue to be carried on under the shadow of the American name. As a mere matter of pecuniary interest, it is not, to America at least, worth its heavy cost. The paltry freight, commissions, and storage, on a few hundred chests of opium, per annum, are no compensation for the national loss. The repeated applications of the Chinese to the British representative and to the Chamber of Commerce, to send away the receiving ships, prove that they are in earnest; and, if in earnest, then it is impossible to assign any other reason, than the supposed protection, for the impunity with which the foreign residents openly carry on a trade, while the native dealer is adjudged worthy of death. For England to decline, or to delay, to make the explanation here suggested, may be intelligible, when we consider the deep interest her Indian territories have in the continuance of the trade. In her case, it is a mere postponement of national duty to pressing interest—*virtus post nummas.* But America has no colonial treasury to fill from such sources, and for her to pursue the same course, is to forsake the greater for the lesser advantage,—to forget the charge *nequid respublica detrimenti caperet,*—to sacrifice, in fact, the national interests, on the altar of the national disgrace.'*

Our conclusion therefore is, that the consul should be definitely instructed to state to the provincial and supreme authorities, that the opium traffic has not the sanction or the sympathy of the American government, giving at the same time the fullest notice, the fairest

* The statements of trade for the year ending 1st July, 1837, prepared by the Chamber of Commerce, give—

Import of opium under the British flag, value	-	$19,471,238
Total imports do. do.	- -	34,900,662
Import of opium under the American flag, value		275,621
General trade do. do.	- -	8,201,430

warning, to any of the American residents, who may be found interested therein. We doubt not they will receive the warning, and hasten to shake off the obnoxious connection with becoming readiness. If this should not be the case, if the personal profit of a few should stand in the way of the national honor and interest, a further understanding must be had, as to the mode of dealing with such delinquents. To us it has always appeared, that the Chinese have pursued a mild and benevolent course, in calling on the public representative of the foreign nation to restrain his countrymen, because, in fact, it is a preventive and not a vindictive course; not a punishing, but a compelling the offender to desist. If the Chinese authorities still prefer to follow this system, we see no reason why the United States should not lay the necessary injunction on their people; but if this be too great a deviation from western usage, it is enough for the national vindication, that the viceroy be distinctly informed that the American offender has forfeited his country's protection. Thus, it is to be hoped, the Chinese statesmen may be convinced, that America is no party to any compact to enfeeble their strength, and ultimately to rob them of their liberties.

In recommending these apparently harsh measures, we must be understood as consulting great national interests, not private character or personal demerits. We are ready to bear testimony to the intelligence, liberality, and general worth of the residents at Canton, though the principles of the temperance cause may not be yet recognized, nor the full bearings of their agency be realized, by the majority. Here, as elsewhere, men contend that the consumer only is responsible for the abuse of the articles which he perverts from their proper uses; and, were any other shelter needed, in this particular case, it would be found in the company of the honorable growers of the drug, in India, and in its defenders in high places—the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, and the Imperial Parliament. To any taunt pointed at the Canton merchant, from either of these high quarters, or from the crowd of respectable principals in Europe and America, of whom he is but the agent, the Bengali proverb, 'he calls me thief for whom I steal,'—is an appropriate and sufficient answer.

But here some impatient ameliorationist may ask; 'Is this all you have for your consul to do in China?' By no means. This is but a beginning. Our instances are but illustrations of a principle to be carried into operation in a multitude of cases. It may do for the rulers of colonial empires in the east, to take a prouder attitude, but we would have America assume no higher stand, than the level on which she shall place and maintain her public character. Let her show herself worthy of all confidence, we say—and then claim it; let her prove her intercourse a blessing, or make it such, and then demand for it unfettered freedom. This duty discharged, no disappointment should be felt, if the desperate corruption of the provincial authorities shut their eyes to the fullest proofs of the point so established. This treatment probably awaits the consul, and for it we have made provision, in recommending the presence of a public ves-

sel, by means of which he may transfer himself and his evidences to a more northern tribunal, whenever the appeal becomes manifestly necessary. And such an appeal once made, we are prepared to recommend further, that it be prosecuted without intermission, though it prove as difficult of decision as a suit in chancery.

Before we close these observations, we must give the friends of the opium trade the benefit of their prediction that the article must and will be legalized,—that, it is in fact, already undermining the exclusive system of China,—and that it is unnecessary and impolitic to interfere with its operation, or deprive ourselves of the powerful influence it is exerting in our behalf. We might discredit the prediction, and refer to proof already given of the unmitigated evil of the opium trade, and insist that, if overruled for good, it can only be by the agency of that great Being, who once made the most enormous crime recorded in the history of man subsidiary to the most glorious results. But our wish is not to bar discussion, but to obtain and impart a clear and just view of the case.

To do this, we will take either alternative; that the trade in opium be legalized, or remain in its present prohibited state. If it remain as it now is, all the evil, suspicion, hatred, and contempt, which the memorials have disclosed, must evidently go on augmenting, an *immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus.* If, on the other hand, the legalization act be carried, on what grounds must we suppose that the change will be made? For the sake of principle, or duty, or choice? Rather, is it not manifest from the statements of its movers and friends, that a dire necessity is the only argument for the measure which they press? They make no attempt to conceal the dilemma to which they are reduced, and so far as public motives—reasons of state—are concerned, they rest their motion on this ground only,—that it is the least dreadful alternative at which they can deliver the country from the most pressing of the evils resulting from foreign intercourse. Is it to be supposed that this dilemma can be a pleasant one to the honest statesmen of China, or that a submission to such a necessity can endear to them the people who have subjected them to so miserable a choice? If we consider the probable results of the legalization, we shall find ourselves at a loss to discern how the foreign relations with China are to be thereby improved in any event. If the 'idle vagrants' are to be the only holocaust, it will still be true that the drug found them uncontaminated; no honor surely to those whose *auri sacra fames* could not be appeased by any lesser sacrifice. If the 'capped and belted men of learning' are to remain unseduced the while, then the public officers of the country must be supposed to be far more superior to the fascinations of the drug, more sensible of its miseries, and more hostile to the agents of its introduction, than they now are. If, on the contrary, the dignity of government, and the virtue of ministers, are to sink before the seduction of the legalized article, a general demoralization becomes the basis of future intercourse. Is this wide demoralization, this universal corruption, a necessary preliminary to the

freedom of communication with China? Are our aims such, that their attainment is incompatible with the existence of any virtue within the empire? Are we sure, when we thus resort to poisoned weapons, that we have already exhausted the expedients of honorable warfare, or even the arguments for a true and lasting peace?

Did we certainly foresee the legalization of the trade, the prospect would lead us to urge with still greater impatience the immediate interference of the American government. Our apprehension would then be, that we should have to write upon the history of her interposition, 'too late—too late.' And regarding such a result as extremely probable, we *do* urge it to hasten its steps, to put in its protest, to tell the Chinese, without delay or reserve, that it is not America which has forced them to this sad alternative,—that America, while she interferes not with the legalization as an act of public administration, will at the same time, bear none of the odium of the measure, nor be responsible for its results. In doing this, it is not necessary to lend any support to the theory, common to Plato and Taoukwang, that it is the grand end of legislation to make men virtuous,—that morality can be taught by imperial edicts. On the contrary, the consul is free to declare, that his own government never deals in such prohibitions, but relies on the power of public opinion, operating through the popular associations, which despotic nations so much dread, to put down every popular vice. He can point out to his official correspondent, the superior efficiency of his restraining power, and urge on the emperor to call it into action in the present crisis. On the showing of his own ministers, the officers and military are the chief consumers of opium in China, while the people are comparatively pure, so that it cannot be difficult to determine which of these classes should be selected as the agents for suppressing the national vice.

But enough on this point. The manifest advantages which America has for acting on Eastern Asia, first drew our attention to the subject of this article, and the more we have looked into it, the clearer has been our conviction, that her duty and interest will be found in the path we have pointed out. It is in fact the singular advantage of the United States over their great rival, that their interests and honor here completely coincide. It shall be no fault of ours, if their coincidence be longer unrecognized and unfelt. We give the directors of our international influence fair warning, that we will not quit our claim on them until it is fairly admitted, or until that public opinion, to which we and they are alike amenable, has judicially set it aside. We will follow it from court to court, from the circles of our private friendship, to the congregation, the assembly, the capital, the press, until the claims of Eastern Asia, for which we appear, are recognized, or declared invalid, by the highest appellate jurisdiction on earth.

But this notice, served upon the government, must not be taken as a discharge of the suit we bring against the people, the sources and the administrators of public opinions in the United States. It will be of little moment, that the government go before us to ascertain our

obligations, to define the claims of the national honor, to cover and protect our enterprises, and to open new fields of exertion hitherto closed, if all these helps and facilities are in the end slighted and abused. We therefore claim, that a salutary control, such as is exerted everywhere by an enlightened public opinion over personal conduct, be extended to us. It is no disparagement to any of our number to say, that he needs this mild restraint, this generous supporter, abroad as well as at home, in Eastern Asia as well as in the United States. Hence we counsel the American community, to follow with their impartial scrutiny the actions of their private representatives throughout the east, and if they find an agency operating anywhere to the public injury, to pronounce, while commending the offender to mercy, a solemn judgment on the class.

Instances of offenses both against the uncertain enactments of arbitrary rulers, and against the higher and clearer authority of moral laws, have been given in the foregoing pages, and we intreat the impartial tribunal, which must decide on what is 'dearer to us than great riches,' our good name, to assume the jurisdiction over the whole subject, to discriminate between the several cases, and to decide at once on them all, as to the law and the fact. Such an interposition is a kindness to the absent citizens, a duty to the people by whom it is exerted, and to the remote community on which it is made to act. It is a kindness to the individual to point out what occupations an enlightened public opinion will never sanction, what acquisitions it will never suffer their possessor to enjoy in peace. Moreover, a generous, benevolent community, pledged to universal civilization and Christianization, in whatever sums it may cost, cannot look on unconcerned, and see its exertions frustrated, and its contributions of treasure and life lavished without return, and be just to itself. Its claim to a sincere charity towards a remote people is invalidated, if it suffer its own members to pursue, for want of one word of direction or remonstrance, a course which is plunging a far greater number, than its bounty can ever relieve, in penury and guilt. It cannot be deemed to act fairly, if, while it is proffering the means of mental and moral instruction with one hand, it presents with the other what it knows to be irresistible temptations to debasement and crime. It exposes itself to the double charge of hypocrisy and injustice, if it hold out, on the one side, encouragements to the present and future advantage, and on the other, displays what must be overpowering allurements to the paths that lead down to death. If the American people really consult the interests of their absent members, their own character, and the true well-being of eastern men, they will not fail to awaken a powerful public sentiment against the antagonist influences, which now threaten to turn all their efforts and their expenditure to a fruitless waste.

But there is yet a further office for the same public opinion to perform, in China itself. The evidence is ample, that the moral character, as well as national designs of foreigners,—their benevolent as well as their private enterprsies,—are involved in deep distrust. It

has been already shown from public documents, that their civil character is suffering severely in official estimation; and the inference is not a forced one, that their moral and Christian character must be as much more misapprehended and dishonored, as its claims are higher and its nature more pure. If Chinese statesmen, living under the light of nature, have detected the deformity of foreign conduct, while it regards them as half civilized beings, it is natural to infer, that contempt will rise to derision and mockery, when they and their people discover, that these men lay claims to a purer morality than their own. If they could be compelled to admit the superiority of the Christian standard, the proof must necessarily become a demonstration, that they who so hold the truth in unrighteousness, are beings whom no motives can stimulate to virtue, and no restraints bind. The clearest evidence of their superiority in knowledge must, in the same way, only prove them to be men, *scientiâ tanquam angeli, alati, cupiditatibus vero tanquam serpentes qui humi reptant.*

These suppositions appear to be borne out by facts. The ships which visit the coasts of China to distribute the Bible, share in the suspicions which are already awakened by the opium fleet. The diffuser of useful knowledge, who hopes to find an ally in every man's conscience, is confounded with the justly dreaded introducers of opium, and is in danger of being rejected conscientiously unheard.

Nor does it apppear that the legalization, of which so much is hoped, will mend the matter in the least. If the moral sense of the people of China triumph over the legalized fascination, no official proclamations can disguise from the keen-eyed and upright native, the motives of the foreign dealer, any more than they can hide the havoc he has made. *Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes*, will be the instinctive answer of his heart to every proffer of instruction or advantage, from hands supposed to be so employed.

If, on the contrary supposition, the 'vile dirt' pervade the inner land, and its use extend at this rapid rate, until demoralization is the result, what a prelude to Christianization is this! It is in fact, eradicating every germ of pagan virtue, and sowing the most noxious habits broadcast over the land, as a preparation of the soil for the graces and virtues of the religion of Christ! To say nothing of those national scourges,—dissension, anarchy, civil war,—which so generally attend periods of public corruption, it is preparing a great people for Christian liberty, by enslaving them to the most degrading vice! It is steeling the heart against the claims and promises of the gospel, and turning its keenest edge against every future preacher of righteousness, *temperance*, and judgment to come. And if you suppose that even demoralization must have its crisis, and a remorseful repentance succeed the period of wild excess, picture to yourself a rifled, humbled, sobered people coming to itself. Imagine the distributer of the Bible to approach the awakened object of his compassion,—where in the whole sacred volume, which he presents him, will the penitent find the fittest language to express his case? Is there any within its whole compass more descriptive than this? 'Our inheri-

tance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens! The joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned to mourning! The crown is fallen from our head, woe unto us that we have sinned!' And when he recalls the image of the instruments of his degradation, how strong will be the temptation to continue the same prophetic strain, when its tone of lament thus changes to imprecation. 'O Lord, thou hast seen our wrong, judge thou our cause. Render unto them a recompense according to the work of their hands! Give them sorrow of heart, thy curse upon them!' 'Talk not to me,' may the sobered Chinese be supposed to say, in time to come, 'talk not me of blessings beyond the grave; we have enough of your tender mercies in this life.' Had he ever heard the tale of the tortured Indian, his hope of heaven might be imagined to depend on the answer to the same agonized inquiry, 'Will the Christian be there?'

Whatever may be the course of affairs in China, however slowly they may move, or however rapidly they may hurry on, to the final crisis, we trust before it arrives, that at least public opinion — the united sentiment which triumphed in the American temperance reformation — will make itself heard and felt here. We would fain hope that the moral, the sober, the excellent among the people of China, shall soon know that the sympathies of millions in other lands are on their side. We would fain hope, that the names that swell the long lists of the members of the American temperance societies will soon be subscribed to memorials designed to cheer the native of China in his efforts to turn back the tide of corruption, which is now sweeping over his country, as well as to hail him as a fellow-laborer in the same noble cause. We would fain anticipate, that he will be taught erelong to discriminate between the distributers of the Bible and the distributers of the drug; for otherwise the sacred volume is in danger of universal rejection, by the moral and the profligate; by the one, out of abhorrence of those who present it, and by the other, for the condemning truths it contains.

But our limits are much exceeded, and we must bring these hasty observations to a close. In conclusion, we beseech the government and people of the United States, by the solemn sanctions of public and private duty, by the heavy weight of national obligation, by the vast responsibilities of a Christian people, and by the inestimable value of eastern regeneration, to abandon a vain and criminal neutrality, and to stand by the honor and interests of the country, in this remote region of the earth. Far as these countries are from the territorial bounds of the United States, they are not beyond her influence, nor, we would hope, without the limits to which the patriotic duty and regard of her citizens extends. To the true lover of his country, its honor abroad can be but a little less dear than its domestic interests. His patriotism will bear this test, it will take this range. Let these criteria be now applied. *Sit deniqui inscriptum in fronte, uniuscujusque civis, quid de republicâ sentiat.*

ART. II. *Foreign relations with the government of China: consular authority at Canton; British and Chinese intercourse; future measures; the security merchants and their debts.*

OUR correspondent, in the preceding article, has grappled with some of the principal difficulties, which embarrass foreign intercourse with the Chinese. The document came into our hands, while two series of papers were being published here; one in the Canton Press, styled, 'British and Chinese intercourse;' the other in the Canton Register entitled, 'The Future.' A pamphlet, respecting the security merchants and their debts, was published about the same time. Thus, four separate pens were simultaneously laboring on the same subject, 'foreign relations with the government of China.' We hope the several writers will continue their efforts, until the existing evils are removed. A few short extracts, presently to be introduced, will show the position taken respectively by the Register and Press.

Respecting consular authority in China, a few words are necessary to prevent misunderstanding. It was long doubtful, whether a political agent, not engaged in commerce, could obtain permission from this government to reside in the provincial city. The application of the British chief superintendent for leave to reside here, settled this question in the affirmative. A residence being granted, an office was opened, and the flag hoisted. But the subsequent proposition for direct official intercourse, made in obedience to instructions from the British crown, was refused; and consequently, and very properly, the flag was struck, and the chief superintendent withdrew from Canton to Macao. For the present, therefore, there is no communication between the British and Chinese authorities.

Virtually — officially — all the other consular functionaries, resident here, are in the same predicament. They may be charged with unlimited power over their own countrymen, and may exercise it by the confinement or deportation of the same, for aught the Chinese care; but to the native authorities, even to the very lowest, the consular power cannot approach in person or by direct communication; he is only allowed to present humble petitions, to be reverentially submissive, and to yield trembling obedience. Such is the position of foreign authorities here; with the native, they are allowed no equality, no reciprocity, no respect. When, therefore, we have to speak of the disabilities of consular power, the reference is not to the incumbents, but to their position, relative to the local government. This is not what it ought to be. The time will come, however, when it will be elevated, and secured in its proper place — on the broad basis of perfect equality and generous reciprocity. And we hope no governmental agents will approach the Chinese, until they have some definite knowledge, both of the circumstance in which they are to act, and of the persons with whom they are to treat.

So far as practicable, when great questions are discussed — especially if they are involved with difficulties, as in the present case, it is desirable to adduce the testimony of different authorities. This we wish to do; but our extracts, both from the Press and Register, must be short. The first extract refers to the British authorities in China.

"The commission, which was to have civil, criminal, and admiralty jurisdiction, which was to protect the British trade, and to have smoothed all things with the stubborn local authorities, was, after a blustering and ill-directed attempt, obliged to fall back upon Macao, where it lingered for a while, when branch after branch fell or was lopped off, and the whole of the brilliantly-got-up establishment is now reduced to a kind of consulate, though under another name, having no influence whatever with the local government, and altogether unable to protect the commerce of Great Britain or benefit it in the slightest degree."

After describing the situation of Chinese officers generally,—'as placed between two fires,' where, if they act on their own responsibility and fail, they must be punished, or, if they follow their instructions and fail, they must still be punished,—the following particulars are given touching the local functionaries.

"It is generally supposed that the offices of governor and hoppo of Canton, which usually are conferred for the space of three years only, are obtained at Peking only on payment of a very large sum of money, and that, moreover, at the expiration of the term of such government, it is expected that very handsome presents will be made to those in power, to screen the ex-governors and hoppos from prosecution for extortion or other malversation in their affairs. Such offices therefore become something like a commercial speculation. Power and influence are not the only objects of the occupants — they must be reïmbursed for their actual outlay, and not only for that, they must provide for what in Anglo-Chinese is called squeezes, after they shall be divested of office. Money-making therefore necessarily becomes their great and engrossing object; and, to obtain this, every office under them is again let out on terms similar to what they hold their own upon; and thus every government employé or mandarin considers his place as much his own as an underwriter does his share in an Insurance Company, trying to make the best of the risk whilst he holds it,—or as a speculator in mines, who having paid up every successive *call* on his share, thinks himself entitled to his quota of the *bonanza*, which latter is however much less certain to recompense him than the squeezes of the mandarin are to repay him for his original outlay. This venality of government among the Chinese extends even to the very lowest offices, and the police officer, stationed in the square before the factories, has purchased his rank, as well as the highest officer in the empire."

The office of governor is conferred without any limit of time; that of hoppo is an annual appointment, generally renewed once or twice.

Speaking of the importance, to the Chinese, of the foriegn trade the writer says, 'the sum total of the foreign import and export-trade of Canton and Lintin amounts annually to the enormous sum of *ninety millions* of dollars; the exports of tea, during the season 1836–37, were in value $20,033,608, and those of silk, $10,836,872, maintaining an aggregate population of at least 1,200,000 individuals.' He then asks —

"How then, such being the case, can the Chinese government affect to look with indifference upon the trade that nourishes so many of its overgrown population; and must they not, in case they throw obstacles in the way of its continuance, fear rebellion and revolution, to which, by starvation, their subjects would very likely be driven? Of this, we doubt not, the local authorities at least are well aware, though the imperial government may not be, owing to its great distance from the districts chiefly interested in foreign trade. We ought, therefore, in future transactions with the Chinese government, never to lose sight of the fact, that the cessation of the foreign trade *would involve the Tartar government, probably, in great difficulties, and that the trade has become so necessary to them that the Chinese cannot now do without it.* Threats of stoppage of trade, or of driving away foreigners, ought to be allowed very little weight, and, in never abandoning this position, the conviction is gained that we have become necessary to them."

A chapter of grievances, interspersed with various remarks (for which we have no space), is made up of the following particulars.

"1. British merchants are liable to be sent away accordiug to the pleasure of the Chinese government, without sufficient cause being assigned.

"2. During their stay in Canton they are debarred from the society of their families, no foreign ladies being allowed to reside in Canton.

"3. The restraint on personal liberty is such, that foreigners are prohibited from taking healthful exercise, for which their habitations are too confined.

"4. In case of homicide, the foreigners have not the benefit of the law in force among the Chinese, but they are punished according to an oppressive law made expressly for, and enacted only against, foreigners.

"5. The trade is confined to Canton alone, instead of permission being given to trade at all the ports of the empire.

"6. The monopoly of the cohong, while exercising an undue con'rol over the foreign trade, renders it at the same time unsafe, from the insolvent state of many of the hong merchants.

"7. The undue interference of the government with these hong merchants, who, being appointed by the former to transact foreign trade, ought not to be subject to arbitrary fines and punishments, renders them frequently unable to do justice to their foreign creditors.

"8. The foreign merchant has no control over his own property, after its having been landed.

"9. Foreign merchants are not allowed to build warehouses to store their property, which not only at present is completely under the control of the Chinese, but is in considerable danger from fire, the warehouses of the hong merchants being in the most crowded parts of the suburbs, so that any fire breaking out during the winter, the north wind, carrying it to the southward, endangers their safety.

"10. Foreigners have no control over merchandise shipped from China, shipment being made through the hong merchants and their servants, and the property exposed to all sorts of malpractices.

"11. We have no fixed tariff of duties, which latter are generally paid by the hong merchants, except in cases where foreigners wish to take their goods to their own premises, when the latter pay the duties according to the best bargain they can make with the linguists."

The right of the Chinese to follow their present policy, and the means Great Britain may employ as most likely to bring about a better state of affairs, are next discussed. The system of non-intercourse, and the opposition of the Chinese to an amalgamation with

foreigners, with the dread of encroachment on the Indian frontiers, are likewise dwelt upon. The writer then proceeds to say —

"Under these circumstances, it is not, therefore, likely that any diplomatic missions to Peking can be of use; nor have the many embassies hitherto sent by Portuguese, Dutch, English, and Russians, ever had the slightest result. What then is to be done to accomplish the so much desired object of increased facilitations of trade with China? Negotiation will be unavailing; armed coercion, besides being unjust, is probably as unlikely to bring about the desired end. On commerce alone, therefore, this task devolves; and that commerce will do it in the course of time, though perhaps slowly at first, but securely, we have no doubt.

"To extend our trading limits ought to be the chief object of the free trade; and, shrewd and active a people as the Chinese are, we are justified in supposing that such attempts will be favorably met by them, though probably opposed by the government; in fact, the few trials hitherto made of trading voyages on the coast have invariably shown us the people as desirous to trade, but the government as inimical to those attempts. Mandarins in China are however accessible to golden reasons; and they may be found in other ports, as well as in Canton and its vicinity, to barter their trust for money. We would therefore recommend, in spite of the prohibition of the government, to push the trade to the other parts of the coast; and believe that, though repulses will be occasionally experienced where the mandarins have much influence, or where they are more honest than elsewhere, many of such attempts will be crowned with perfect success, and the oftener the experiment is repeated the less will the risk of failure become.

"Hitherto this kind of trade to the ports in the vicinity of Canton has, with very few exceptions, been carried on exclusively in the article of opium; and, since the opium trade at Lintin has been more than usually obstructed by the government, a number of vessels, perhaps 15 to 20, of about 150 or 200 tons each, are continually plying on the coast, disposing of their opium. The success of this trade, though its increase and consequent influence on the population from the use of the drug is much to be lamented, affords a singular proof of the weakness or supineness of the government; for, though during a number of years edict after edict has been issued against it, denouncing the heaviest penalties against the natives concerned in it, yet the introduction of the article has increased every year in quantity; nor is it probable that any measures the government may now take will be sufficient effectually to put it down; nor will it perhaps ever cease, unless the Chinese nation themselves discontinue smoking it. The immense value of the article has hitherto chiefly attracted the attention of foreign speculators, as holding out greater prospects of profit than less valuable manufactures, which being besides, though liable to a duty, legally imported into Canton, hold out not the same temptation to the Chinese to posses themselves clandestinely of them. We should think, however, that the attempts to introduce British manufactures into the northern ports will soon become more common, and that, if the Chinese learn that they can be regularly supplied direct instead of obtaining these goods from Canton at an enhanced cost, they will contrive means for introducing them into the country, either in spite of, or with the connivance of, the mandarins, and make the returns in the produce of their country, which, finding thus a new market, would soon be collected in sufficient quantities to afford a good freight to these foreign coasting vessels. By such proceedings, the government, not to be altogether defrauded of the duties, will at last be compelled to permit foreigners to trade at ports which have been hitherto shut against them, and the people will soon learn to appreciate the advantages of a direct trade.

"It may be objected to our plan, that by its execution we incite the Chinese to disobedience of their government; but laws can only be said to exist as long as they are enforced; if the government of China has not the power to prevent smuggling, others are not to be blamed for availing themselves of their weakness."

Two more short paragraphs will close our extracts from the Canton Press.

"Though we are convinced that commerce will successfully establish its empire all over China, yet ere this be accomplished many years may pass away, and meanwhile the trade carried on by foreigners in Canton remains exposed to the vexations already enumerated, and the property of British merchants exposed to the caprice and bad faith of mandarins and hong merchants. Our persons remain liable to insult, and yet we have no protection whatever from the government at home, which, instead of providing such protection, which it is not improbable may be, at times, of the utmost importance to the British residents in Canton, contents itself with passing a bill through parliament for appointing a court of justice in China, with admiralty jurisdiction; which court is not only to take cognizance of differences between Englishmen and of offenses committed by them, but it is also to be empowered to do justice to foreigners on their appeal to it against British subjects; and of which foreigners, in an opposite case, would of course not acknowledge the jurisdiction. Instead, therefore, of assisting its subjects in China and protecting them, the British government is about to place them on a more unfavorable footing than any other foreigners trading here, or even than the Chinese, who may, in this projected court, prosecute an Englishman, and possibly obtain an award against him, without that Englishman having in return the protection of law, should the Chinese become his debtor. * * *

"What then is to be done to afford to the British trade in China the protection it may stand in need of? We would ask for nothing at present but a small squadron of British ships of war, to be stationed in the China sea, and, from time to time, to touch at Lintin. If for instance a frigate and two gunbrigs might be employed in surveying the coasts, thus accustoming the Chinese to the sight of British men-of-war, and the frigate being frequently at Lintin would assure the sons of Han that the British were not so unprotected as they have hitherto deemed. We see no reason why the British government should not extend that protection to the China trade, which it affords, for instance, to that of South America, probably not one eighth part as valuable as that of China. Yet, on the coasts of Peru and Chile you continually find British men-of-war, whilst to China they come only as angels, visits' 'few and far between.' It is true a station off Lima is much more agreeable than one at Lintin, besides being profitable to captains as giving them freight of specie, which here they probably would not have; but a small squadron, such as we have pointed out, would be of very great use, not only for the sake of the impression it would make on the Chinese, but also as affording actual protection in case of any serious difficulties with the Chinese, of which several causes combine to render an occurrence probable. Surely the British government can spare a few ships of war to protect a trade that gives it a yearly revenue of four millions sterling,—a revenue greater than any it receives from the trade of any other individual country, and which yet seems to be as little cared for by the government as if it did not exist, whilst we see attention lavished on the safety and protection of trade in other places not a tithe of the value of ours."

The writer in the Register, 'lighting his torch from the past,' comes at once *in medias res.*

"It is only by the favor and compassion of the self-styled supreme emperor, that foreigners are allowed any trading intercourse with his subjects: neither the government nor the people of China have ever granted any rights, practical or abstract, to foreigners; at the present moment it is this principle of intercourse alone that is acknowledged by the emperor and his officers; it is the feeling of benevolence to and compassion for distant foreigners that causes the claims of Hingtae's creditors to be listened to; and let us not be too much startled at this difficult and unpalatable doctrine; for it may be in the recollection of many that the East India Company's supercargoes held what is usually called the 'country trade' to be simply a trade of sufferance; a tolerated trade, which was accorded as a matter of grace and favor; but a trade that possessed no rights; a trade that could not, legally, stand upon its own defence of its own interests; a trade that could be (and has been) suspended by the fiat of the select committee; and, further, who can forget the petty jealousy with which the E. I. directors guarded their hateful and illimitable privileges? Was not half of this fair globe not only closed to commercial enterprise, but to philosophical curiosity, and apostolic zeal? Can we wonder, then, that the ignorant, proud, and bigotted Chinese strive to hold their supremacy over nations which have been made known to them only through the transactions of commerce? * * * To break up the frozen system of exclusion, to set in motion and direct the current of international communication with the Chinese, is the delicate task and the imperative duty now before the British people. We propose in this and one or two following numbers to continue the subject of 'the future' with China; which may properly be divided into the three following branches: the causes; the means; and the end. The causes — why any peculiar exertions are now more necessary than at any former period. The means — if any exertions are made, and how they should be directed to attain success. The end — a free trade with China, based upon the mutual interests and good faith of the two countries."

Some of the causes why peculiar exertions are now necessary on the part of Great Britain, the writer adduces in the two following paragraphs.

"The trade has now been opened four years; and we apprehend, that the confident expectations entertained of its speedy and unlimited extension have not been realized. That the trade will ever continue as long as the two nations are in existence we have not a doubt; but that it will continue under the best possible condition, unless the Chinese and British governments come to some definite understanding for its regulation, we have many doubts. The present state of the trade is almost equally discouraging to the hong, and to the foreign, merchants. The hong, as a body, with only two or three exceptions, may be considered, if not bankrupt, at least as unsound and unworthy of commercial confidence. The E. I. company could, and did for a long period, right or wrong, prop up the tottering hongs; and by their method of apportioning the shares of the company's business amongst the hongs, that body of merchants were rendered more independent of each other. But now the foreign trade is nearly monopolized by the senior hong merchant, and one or two others, who buy the imports only through their poorer brethern. And it will ever be impossible to prevent such forestalling, whilst the system of confiding the management of the foreign trade to official merchants is persisted in. This system, therefore, and the utter insecurity of foreign property when it has once entered the port, the divided interests of the foreign trade, and the impossibility of combination amongst its members for self-protection and as a counteracting force against the proceedings of the hong merchants

and the local officers, is such a state of things as imperatively calls for the interference of the British government, in order to promote and protect the British and Anglo-Indian trade of China. * * * Were we even to accept the Chinese government principle of 'benevolence and compession to distant foreigners,' as the ground of our argument for extended communication at the present day, we might urge, that as the Chinese father has a legal right of life and death over his own issue at its birth, yet,—in the cases of the infant, child, youth, and man,—if his compassion spares the infant's life, a greater degree of turpitude will attend the taking that of the child, still more that of the youth,—but the father will be held accountable to the laws for the murder of the man. So with the Chinese government principle with respect to foreign intercourse: it has been conceived, born, nurtured, reared, and cherished through the various stages of its being, until it has attained its present age and gigantic growth, by the 'benevolence and compassion of the celestial empire.' Its right to existence is now undoubted; it holds an acknowledged station in the world, and it has its own onerous and serious duties to perform, a station and duties which celestial compassion and benevolence must now concede and respect."

To show the magnitude of the interest to be protected, and the importance of the question at issue, the writer gives a brief statement of the export of teas; remarks on the operations of the E. I. Company's agency in Canton, which 'has, it is supposed, turned the profit of the trade in tea and raw silk — about $4,000,000 — in favor of the Chinese;' and then adds —

"If it be the general impression of the whole body of foreigners resident in Canton, that circumstances have, at length, brought us to that condition, and to that period of time, when any further delay to establish themselves on a defined, acknowledged, basis, will not only be a pusillanimous abandonment of their rights and duties, but will be a criminal and suicidal act; and if there be a conviction, that such abandonment will most surely prepare the way for a much worse state of things than even the presnt; and if it be the real intention, as it is the evident interest and special duty, of the British government to stand forth, the first among all foreign states, to protect the trade of its subjects with China; then the means of such intervention will become the subject of anxious consideration.

He next adverts to 'the new functionary who is expected to be appointed to her majesty's commission in China,' with power to hold a vice-admiralty court.

"But it is a serious question, under the present state of the British opium trade, how far the presence of a British functionary, invested with such powers by his own, and conceded by the Chinese government, is desirable in China. * * * The most important part of the question, as it will appear in any efforts to bring the two governments into a friendly communication — and perhaps in this view, it should be called the most important obstacle — is the nature of the opium trade — a government monopoly in Bengal, a smuggling trade in China. We have little doubt but that the progress of public opinion will conquer this monopoly of a luxurious and slow, but certain, poison, as it is used in China. Otherwise it will be a fearful state of things, if a professing Christian government cannot support itself, except by using the industry of its pagan subjects in the most revolting form, and devoting the land, not to the support and ornament of life, but to the support of the treasury and the degradation and destruction of life. The production of, and the trade in,

opium must be *free;* whether its consumption will then increase is, a subject we shall not now presume to discuss; but we are inclined to think not. This crucial question once removed, the British government can then come freely and boldly forward, and demand a just attention. When the path is thus cleared, a schedule of grievances to be redressed, of rights to be acknowledged, and of privileges to be granted, may be exhibited to the 'benevolence and compassion' of China; but it must be enforced by the determination and self-respect of England. Nothing short of showing ourselves able and determined to hold, at our own option, that we now hold, and to extend our friendly and commercial relations with China, as the revolution of time my render feasible and desirable, will avail us in any new attempt to open a communication with the imperial government."

Of both the imperial and local government his views are pretty fully indicated in the two following quotations.

"The division that has reigned in the councils of the government at Peking for the last two years, relative to the question of admitting opium, is a most singular fact in the history of the trade. It may not be generally known, that there are two parties in China, which may be compared, and not inaptly, to those of the Whigs and Tories in England; or rather to the liberals and conservatives of Europe generally: the first granting, as an axiom in politics, that alterations and reforms are sometimes necessary; the latter denying the axiom, and alleging that the government of the present should always be unchangeably modeled on that of the past. When such distinctive opinions are heard of in China, it is evident that this country has not been, as some are fond of arguing, totally unimpressed by her foreign connections; although the difficulty of ascertaining how near to and ready she may be for any change, may still remain.

"The fact that opium is admitted with the full knowledge of many of the government officers, not excepting even the highest, is too notorious to require any elucidation; and late transactions in the trade have been so glaring, that it is impossible to prevent doubts of the sincerity of the intentions of both the imperial and local goverunments in their endeavors to put an entire and final stop to the trade. The fact seems to be, that all official appointments in China are given and accepted with the full understanding, that the individual is to supply all deficiencies in his emoluments by any course of connivance and corruption that is not too scandalous. Whilst the daring enterprise of foreigners is met by the cupidity and corruption of Chinese officials, and both are fostered by the Bengal and Malwa governments, the continued existence of the opium trade, under the system of exclusion, may be safely predicted."

While descanting on the means to be employed and the end to be secured, the writer says —

"The means to bring about a better commercial understanding should be applied to the emperor, not to any of his subordinate governments. It is his fiat alone that can open other ports to the foreign trade; his will is the rule of action in his dominions. No doubt, the 'established regulations' would be strongly insisted upon; but it must be shown by the other party, that these said regulations have long been utterly futile to their desired end: the proof of which lies in innumerable imperial edicts. That, in short, to preserve the maritime provinces from throwing off their allegiance, from falling into a state of confusion which may peril the continuance of the rule of his family, and even the existance of the long-boasted celestial empire, a reformation in its foreign relations has now become imperatively

necessary. The arguments which could be used by foreigners to justify and enforce their claims for attention, are so cogent, and the commercial interests of all, but more especially those of Great Britain, are so interlaced with the question, that we think we have arrived at the time when some effort must be made by the government of that country to change her present relation with China for the better. Foreigners, generally, are surely not to remain any longer satisfied with the nonsensical, babbling, pretences of the thunder and lightning of the laws and established regulations, which both natives and foreigners are in the daily habit of deriding and breaking. The honor and interests of the British empire are now so involved in the necessity of assuming a far different position in this country, that the conviction that longer delay will only increase the difficulty of the task has become resistless. Since 1787, the year of lord Cathcart's mission — two embassadors with *tribute*, and four chief superintendents, with numerous and able *attachés*, have been planted in the celestial empire — but what have been the effects of their efforts and labors? Are not their total defeats on every occasion sufficient evidence that a different mode of proceeding, to that of carrying tribute to the foot of the emperor's throne, must be now adopted? * * *

"It must be the policy of foreigners to teach the Chinese the true meaning of the word, *national*. As yet they are ignorant of it — or rather ignorant of its true political sense; the whole nation is bound by old saws; the past is the mirror in which they dress themselves; which reflects all their thoughts, knowledge, and acts; the words country, nation, people, are buried in the outward veneration bowed to the names of Confucius and their *ta hwangte*, their great emperor — the coädjutor of heaven and the supreme ruler of earth — and a Mantchou Tartar, of a tribe which four hundred years ago had not an alphabet! A tribe that numbered at the conquest about 10,000 clansmen; which is supposed to number now 100,000; and it is this tribe that, by a sort of family compact, puts its veto on the social intercourse of the whole human race of 1000 millions; that by lying, fulsome, and ridiculous edicts, stops the progress of civilisation and knowledge. Religion, science — the Bible, steam, railroads, navigation, and all the efforts and discoveries of the human intellect, are made non-entities, that one family of savages may perpetuate its supposed supreme rule of the world. But is this anomalous and ludicrous pretension to be longer borne? No. This delusion must be dissipated; a *novum organum* must be given to them; and to teach the new philosophy is the proud task of England."

The author of the pamphlet, respecting the Chinese security or hong merchants and their debts, first describes the past and present state of the hongs and the relations of the foreign merchants with them; in the second place, he remarks on the altered situation of the British merchants under the free-trade, which has deprived them of the means they possessed previously to recover their claims; and thirdly, the altered circumstances of the hong merchants, owing to the free-trade and other causes, which afford them no longer the same means to meet their engagements, are discussed; these three topics occupy twenty-five pages of his pamphlet, of which he gives his readers the following 'recapitulation.'

"Before proceeding to show how the British government may aid its subjects in China, it may be useful to recapitulate the preceding facts, and supply a few omissions, to impress upon the mind of the reader — that the debts now owing by the hong merchants are a bona fide transfer, so long as they continue unpaid, of three millions of dollars of capital from the foreigners, chiefly

British merchants, to the Chinese. That these debts are not the result of speculation upon a high rate of interest, but are incurred almost necessarily by the conditions of their ordinary trade — and that another condition of that trade is, that such debts shall be repaid under the imperial guarantee. That the debts being an abstraction from their trading capital, and not a chosen investment of money, the foreign merchants have no longer the inducement to consent to a protracted payment of their claims, which former creditors had; nor if they had, could they now put the same faith in the fulfilment of the compromise. That the British merchants who have succeeded to the E. I. Company, not possessing the advantages of that body's monopoly, and consequent identity of interest and unity of action, are neither in the position to avoid incurring the debts, nor to recover them when made; and that the organs of her majesty's government in China have not, as yet, possessed the means to acquire moral weight with the local authorities or hong merchants, to replace the commercial influence of the E. I. Company's factory. That, whilst deprived of the E. I. Company's influence, but still opposed to a monopoly on the part of the Chinese, the foreigners have had to compete, so far as tea is concerned, with the worst effect of a government monopoly in England; viz: a heavy stock in the hands of parties not personally interested in its disposal; and, in one case, with an unlooked for and arbitrary change in the duties, having, to the British merchant in China, all the effect of an ex post facto law. That these results have further been attended with the introduction of the E. I. Company's funds into Canton, in a manner to occasion violent derangement in the currency, and consequent fluctuation in prices. That the above circumstances of the free-trade have equally injured the Chinese merchants, and involved them in losses, which have reflected upon the British merchants in the shape of the debts now in question, and are likely, if no change occur, to lead to others hereafter. That the British merchant in China has no choice but to trade with the hong merchants in the bulk of both exports and imports, excepting opium. He has, moreover, with few exceptions, no warehouse in which to store his goods, nor consequently the means to ensure them against fire or fraud, nor to enforce his contracts and engagements for them, with the Chinese. That he has no choice in the nomination of the security merchants with whom he is compelled to trade, nor means to ascertain the amount of their capital. He has still less means to know if that capital be applied to the purpose of trade, or if it be abstracted for the demands of the extravagances or for the aggrandizement of the hong merchants' families. That the new hongs commence their career with the payment of a tax to the hoppo and other mandarins of 60,000 to 80,000 dollars, which in most cases must absorb their whole capital, and compel them to borrow either from the foreigners or from their own countrymen. That new duties have been levied from time to time under pretext of paying the debts of foreigners; but that those duties are not discontinued after the necessity for them ceases, and the foreigners have no means to ascertain if they are funded for the discharge of future debts, or appropriated to the uses of the hong merchants or the mandarins. That the foreigners are even compelled often to advance these duties; for the hoppo will not grant a port clearance for a ship about to leave the port, until the duties upon her inward cargo are paid, which it is the proper business, according to the custom of the place, for the security merchant to do; not even when the goods are unsold, and the state of the market may keep them on hand for months. But as the so called security merchants are not obliged to secure ships, the two wealthiest seldom or never do, and the duty falls oftener, in consequence, to the poor hongs. It constantly happens, therefore, that the departure of a vessel is delayed, because the security merchant cannot pay the duties upon her cargo; and, as

most vessels are consigned to one party only, and her cargo to many, it becomes a matter of contention who is to advance the duties for the security merchants, and the consignee of the ship is of course obliged to yield. The sums which we have seen to be due to government by the hongs are, therefore, chiefly on account of export duties, and amount, pro tanto, to a remission of duties upon their own staples, at the expense of the foreign imports. That when goods are once landed, they cannot be reshipped except upon payment of the whole import duty again, in the shape of export duty; however bad the market may have become in the meanwhile, or however doubtful the credit of the hong may have become in which the goods are deposited."

The aid required from the British government, he describes in the following parapraphs, which close his essay of thirty-three pages.

"It is at all times easier to point out grievances and abuses, than to devise a remedy for them: and this is peculiarly the case with regard to the foreign trade in China. The remoteness of Canton from the seat of government renders it impossible to the foreigners to ascertain the policy of the imperial government with respect to the foreign trade, or to know if the acts of the local authorities spring immediately from that policy, or if they are merely the suggestions of their own self-interest or caprice. Either from one or other cause, the foreigners are, no doubt, subjected to many annoyances in carrying on their commerce, some of which have already been submitted to the British government, and remedies have been proposed involving questions attended with remote consequences, which it does not fall within the province of this enquiry to enter into. Its object is limited to obtaining payment of the debts owing to British merchants by the Chinese, and guarantied by the Chinese government, and to lessen the risk, if possible, of incurring similar responsibilities in future.

"These debts constitute a transfer of British capital to the Chinese hong merchants, of about three millions of dollars, which the creditors require, surely not unreasonably, to be repaid within that time in which that capital would double itself by compound interest at the usual market rate of twelve per cent., which time is about six years. Whereas the Chinese propose to liquidate the debts in nine years, beginning with next year; which, in the case of Hingtae, would be ten and a half years from the date of adjustment of account, and a still longer time in the case of Kingqua. The British government may interpose its authority with the emperor of China to obtain earlier payment of Hingtae's debts, without fear, it is conceived, of compromising itself; since a committee of foreigners and hong merchants, appointed by mutual consent, has examined and authenticated the debts, and the viceroy of Canton has declared officially, that they shall be paid to the uttermost mite; but without specifying a period for the liquidation. The demand for payment of the debts, within a given time, may be met by the Chinese government with precedents of former protracted liquidations of debts; but we conceive that the justice of their being paid within the time specified above will be found unquestionable. But, even if the counter objections of the Chinese, or motives of policy, render it inconvenient to the British government to insist upon a definite period of payment for debts already contracted, it is humbly submitted, that both policy and regard for the welfare of the British subjects in China demand, that a definite, if not immediate, payment shall be required for debts which the hong merchants shall be found to owe in future. This alone would be a considerable boon to the foreigners in Canton, and possibly also to the hong merchants themselves, by shielding them awhile from the extortion of the mandarins, and from the liabilities which the solvent hongs become exposed to, by having needy and incompetent persons thrust into their corporation.

"Respect for European international law, as well as common justice, may also render it inexpedient to the British government to dictate to the emperor of China, if it have the power, the regulations under which the commerce of his empire with foreigners shall be conducted; but it may surely require of him to respect and enforce the rules he has himself laid down. He has prescribed to the foreigners to trade with the security merchants only, who are nominated by himself or by his delegates, and, in so doing, he tacitly engages for their capability and proper conduct. It is for him to take care that the foreigners' capital, which passes through the security merchants' hands, be not diverted from its proper use, either by the folly of those parties or by the extortions of his own officers. This duty will, it is conceived, be indirectly but pressingly enforced upon him, by the British government insisting upon the debts being paid immediately, which the culpability of his officers assist in forming. The mere demand will, at the same time, accelerate the payment of the debts, sustained as we believe it to be, by both right and reason; and it may easily be made in such a way as to compromise the British government in no ulterior measures, whilst it may also be readily made the basis of further requisition, if it be deemed advisable.

"Although accidental circumstances of trade have, in some instances, as at present, conduced to the debts of the hongs, it will be seen, throughout the preceding pages, that the exactions of the hoppo and other mandarins are the principal absorbents of the capital of the security merchants, and, through them, of that of the foreigners. Their extortions are the necessary and understood consequence of their small salaries. This state of things belongs to most governments, perhaps, in a certain stage of their career, and no effectual change in it by foreign interference can be foreshown, short of reform amounting almost to a revolution in the government. So long as this practice exists, any treaty or tariff made with the Chinese government will always be evaded or misdirected, like the supposed consoo fund, unless watched over incessantly, and checked by some more powerful control than is possessed at present by the British superintendent, or any foreign consul in China. But the firm and decided demand of the British government for the immediate payment of money owing to its subjects, which may otherwise be diverted by the rapacity of the mandarins, may ensure the temporary exertion at least of the emperor's power to restrain their extortion. The alternative may suggest itself to the emperor of abolishing the cohong system altogether, and this, if it led to unrestricted competition amongst the Chinese merchants, would be, perhaps, the happiest result which could be expected; but caution will be required in admitting the proposition. If the cohong be abolished, the hoppo's office must be remodelled, and a host of subordinates, who belong to the system, should fall with it, else the evil will be shifted merely, and not eradicated. The exactions of the mandarins would follow the free-traders as grievously as it now does the hong merchants, and the foreigners would have lost the only check they now have on those exactions, the necessity of the hong debts being repaid.

"The abolition of the cohong would be totally ineffectual also, unless attended by a better system of collecting the custom-house duties, and the general acquisition by foreigners of warehouses, in which to store their goods; but to obtain the warehouses will require, either that their residence be permitted beyond the precincts of the present foreign factories, or else that the factories be considerably enlarged. To the first plan the Chinese government seems to have an almost invincible objection, and the value of property in the neighborhood of the factories, beyond what is necessary for mere residence, would make the last so expensive, that, if gained, it will almost certainly impose additional duties upon the trade. The only middle course,

which seems to present itself, is one which has been talked of amongst the Chinese themselves, that two or more of the existing hongs be constituted custom and bonded warehouses, through which all foreign imports shall be passed, and pay duty according to a fixed tariff. Yet these, if under the control of the Chinese mandarins, would only subject the foreigners to the petty vexations and delays by the underlings of government, which the hong merchants and their assistants now encounter. This objection might be obviated by the British merchants having a common warehouse under their own control, through which the goods should pass, and duty be paid, and a manifest handed to the mandarins for their satisfaction, attested by the British superintendent,— or some similar plan. These suggestions however are not intended to dictate any particular course to the British government, but only in the hope to draw its attention to the unprotected situation of British subjects in China, and to point out the assistance which may most readily be afforded, and will, at the present moment, be most gratefully received.

"The preceding statements cannot better be concluded, perhaps, than by the paragraph already quoted from the records of the East India company's committee in 1783, viz.: 'It seems to be an established maxim amongst the mandarins at this place, to discourage, as much as possible, all applications to the emperor, both as they may prove dangerous to their persons and derogatory to their consequence; except in circumstances that cannot be concealed, as in the case of captain Panton, without whose interference, we are well assured, no representation from the creditors or any other body of men, could ever have reached the court, much less can we expect the assistance of the hoppo, through whom it must necessarily pass in the first instance.'" *Canton, 19th February*, 1838.

Here we must close this long article, leaving our readers to form their own opinions of the sentiments contained in the several extracts, which afford ample scope for discussion. The historical part of the pamphlet, may find a place in a future number.

ART. III. *Memorial to the right honorable lord viscount Palmerston, principal secretary of state, for foreign affairs, &c., &c.*

[This and the following article we republish from the Canton Press of the 24th instant. If this memorial, in connection with that of December, 1834, bring the British government in direct and proper communication with Taoukwang and his cabinet, it will be well. Affairs — neither few nor unimportant — require this. The signatures of some of the principal houses, it will be seen, are not attached to the memorial.]

MY LORD. — We, the undersigned British merchants trading at Canton in China, have the honor to address your lordship, through the mediation of H. B. M. Chief Superintendent, respecting certain heavy debts owed to us by the Chinese hong merchants; and we respectfully but earnestly entreat your lordship to lay our case before her majesty's council, with a view to obtain the powerful interposition of our own government, with that under which we at present live, to endeavor to obtain an early payment of our actual claims, and a

readier means of recovery of those, which, under the existing circumstance of the foreign trade with this country, we must, we fear, inevitably incur in future.

2. Your lordship is aware, no doubt, that we are limited in our dealings, in all the principal staples of the legal foreign trade with China, to about a dozen parties, called security or hong merchants. These merchants trade separately, but they are mutually responsible for the government dues which each may incur, and also for their respective debts to the foreigners. Your memorialists are allowed no voice in the nomination of these security merchants, nor have we any means to ascertain their capital, nor other qualifications for their trust; but the Chinese government, which takes this responsibility upon itself, guarantees the engagement which the Chinese merchants form with us; and the principal of the hong debts, without interest, has always been paid, for the last twenty years, by the whole body or cohong, under the authority of government. The period, however, within which the debts should be paid, has been left to be settled between the security merchants and the foreigners, and has always been a point of much contention. The former have usually succeeded in fixing a term of years within which the foreign capital in their possession might double itself almost twice over by compound interest; and the British merchants have been indebted for the attainment of even this boon, to the influence of the East India Company's late factory in China, as well as for the means of repayment, through their large transactions with the hongs; facilities which your memorialists no longer enjoy.

3. Of the thirteen hong merchants which existed at the beginning of 1837, three or four are now avowedly insolvent. Their united debts, according to their own report, amount to upwards of 3,000,000 of dollars, besides about 750,000 dollars, which they owe to the government for duties. One of those security merchants, named Hingtae, has been formally declared bankrupt, and his debts to foreigners proved, by a committee appointed for the purpose by the cohong and foreigners mutually, at 2,261,439 dollars, exclusive of claims still in dispute. The viceroy of Canton has declared in a public document, of which we transmit herewith a translation, together with all the correspondence upon the subject to your lordship, that the debts shall be paid; but has left the period of payment to be settled, as usual, between the security merchants and the foreigners. The former began by proposing twenty years as the term for liquidation; but have subsequently reduced it, step by step, to nine years. The creditors have refused even the last proposition, on the grounds: first, that it is impolitic to establish the precedent of such a protracted payment, in this first settlement of a debt under the free trade system, which debt arises entirely out of actual transactions of trade, and so far differs from all former debts: and secondly, because we wish to take this opportunity to procure a settlement of the debts of all the insolvent hongs, with a view to understand our exact position with them, and to endeavor to trade upon some safer system in future.

4. The debts owing by the cohong, whether to the government or to foreigners, have never been paid entirely out of their own resources, but chiefly by means of extra duties levied upon the principal staples of the foreign trade, and the hong merchants propose to liquidate the debts, now under consideration, in a similar way. Such duties, once imposed, appear never to be taken off again when the first occasion for them has ceased; but to be still levied, under pretext of creating a fund, called the consoo fund, to meet future exigencies of the cohong, whether occasioned by debts to the foreigners, or by demands from the emperor to meet the expenses of his wars, or other extraordinary expenditure of the state. There is no reason to suppose, however, that such a fund has ever really existed, or that the Chinese authorities has ever recognized it; but they have sanctioned the imposition of duties from time to time for the payment of specific debts, and have connived at their continuance, to feed, as is supposed, their own exactions. Independent of the extraordinary demands by the emperor upon the security merchants, they are exposed to almost daily extortions on the part of the local authorities, chiefly the hoppo or collector of customs, and his subordinates, which have always empoverished them, even when they shared in the large certain profits of the East India Company's trade. They have incurred heavy losses in their trading transactions since the expiration of the East India Company's charter, and seem likely to suffer still more severely, since the same parties have now to conduct a more extended business, in competition with the intelligence and greater activity of free-traders, to which neither their capital, nor mode of conducting commerce, seem adequate. Considering these circumstances, your memorialists see reason to apprehend, that any addition to the duties upon the foreign trade, merely sufficient to liquidate the foreign debts, will, without some weighty interposition with the imperial government, be mainly diverted to the payment of extraordinary demands by the authorities on the cohong, which it is known are now being urged upon that body, and thereby not only protract the settlement of our claims, but occasion an accumulation of new debts on the part of the security merchants, which it may require more than remonstrance on the part of the British government, at some future time, to recover.

5. Your memorialists are aware of the difficulty of changing the institutions and habits of a people like the Chinese, and do not, therefore, ask of her majesty's government, to require any great or sudden changes in the regulations under which we trade with this empire; but we humbly submit to your lordship's decision: whether the Chinese government, so long as it shall insist upon confining our trade to so small a number of its merchants, is not bound to take care that those merchants have sufficient capital and probity for their trust; and whether, on the transfer of our capital to them, in the shape of the debts in question, which becomes unavoidable in the conducting of extensive commerce with a monopoly of such limited means, the imperial guarantee does not imply earlier repayment of such capital, than has been hitherto, or is now, offered, or at all events some com-

pensation for the delays in the shape of interest. Our experience of the Chinese people and their rulers, lead us confidently to infer, that the simple interposition of our own government with the cabinet of Peking, in so just a cause, would facilitate the adjustment of our present claims; and, if her majesty's government would further require that any future debts, incurred by the hongs to British subjects, should be paid immediately, or, at all events, within a reasonable and defined time, and that the hong merchants should be protected from the extortion of the official subordinates, we feel assured that it would tend to lessen the hazard of our trade materially. It would induce the emperor of China to inquire into the abuses of the foreign trade at this port, and to correct the most flagrant of them; which are, the exactions of his officers and the inefficiency of the cohong, the full knowledge of which we presume to be withheld by the Canton authorities from the court of Peking; and the latter effect would render no less service to the solvent security merchants themselves, than to your memorialists and the whole of the foreign residents in Canton.

6. Your memorialists do not think it necessary to trouble your lordship with further details of our position as merchants in Canton, the peculiarities of which have doubtless reached your lordship through an official channel; and, relying upon your lordship's attention to the interests of British commerce and British merchants, to bring our request to the favorable notice of her majesty's government,

We have the honor to be, my lord, your lordship's devoted and most obedient servants.

(Signed) Dent & Co. Bell & Co. Fox Rawson & Co. Lindsay & Co. Nanabhoy Framjee. Eglinton, Maclean & Co. Dirom & Co. Bibby, Adam & Co. Gibb, Livingston & Co. J. & W. Cragg & Co. Daniell & Co. W. & T. Gemmell & Co. W. Henderson. W. Mac. Donald. Robt. Wise, Holliday & Co. T. H. Layton. Jamieson and How. D. & M. Rustomjee. Patrick Stewart.

ART. IV. *A respectful address to his excellency the governor of of Kwangtung and Kwangse. Canton, 21st March,* 1838.

SOME of the subscribers, British merchants, addressed your excellency nearly a year ago, respecting the large debt due to us by Hingtae, and your excellency has since given repeated orders for its payment; but, up to this time, we have received no part of it. The hong merchants have indeed proposed to pay it off in nine years, beginning with next year, which will be ten years for the adjustment of the accounts; but we cannot consent to such a distant payment.

Besides Hingtae, your excellency is aware that there are other hongs also indebted to us, and we have urged the security merchants to arrange for payment of their debts at the same time, that we may know with whom we may trade safely, and whom not, and guard, as far as we are able, against loss in future.

We bring our property from a great distance to trade with this empire, and we are compelled by its laws to place it in the hands of a very few hong merchants, nominated by the emperor. It cannot be that his majesty intends that they should retain our capital until it has nearly doubled itself by the accumulation of interest, and then pay us back only the principal.

It may be that Hingtae has dissipated our money, but how can we ascertain this? We cannot go to his house or village to ascertain if he have secreted our money, and even your excellency's order has failed to produce him here for examination.

The judge and the treasurer reported (12th moon, 13th day) as a reason to delay payment of these debts, that, 'matters are not now as formerly; there was then the trade of the Company which yielded great profits.' This is true; but our profits also are not the Company's, and we cannot afford to dispense with our trading capital. The payment of the hong merchants' debts, besides, has never depended entirely upon their profits, but upon extra duties upon the foreign trade imposed for the purpose, and the hong merchants now propose an additional duty to pay the present debts. Where then is the injustice to them?

It seems to us, as to the judge and treasurer, that some other system is required to meet the exigencies of the present trade, but more for our benefit than for the hong merchants. As we do not feel competent to discuss this question with your excellency, we have referred it through her majesty's chief superintendent to our own gracious sovereign, who will, we humbly hope, communicate upon the subject with your emperor.

In the meantime we shall gratefully receive any portion of our claims which your excellency may be pleased to order to be paid, and be prepared to listen to the suggestions which the hong merchants may propose.

(Signed) Dent & Co. Bell & Co. Dirom & Co. J. & W. Cragg & Co. Daniell & Co. Gibb, Livingston & Co. Eglinton, Maclean & Co. Fox, Rawson & Co. W. Henderson. Robt. Wise, Holliday & Co.

ART. V. *Horsburgh Light House: United States' Expedition to the South Seas; the desirableness of extensive and accurate nautical surveys in the east.*

SOON after the intelligence of Horsburgh's decease reached Canton, a public meeting was convened here, a committee of correspondence appointed, and a subscription for the erection of a Light House, or houses, opened. A brief notice thereof, with a letter signed Nauticus, were published in our fifth volume: see page 381. Pedra Branca

was named as one of the points, needing a light house; and the number of vessels lost or stranded there, prove how great that need is. We trust there will be no unnecessary delay in erecting a Light House upon that rock; such a monument, bearing the name of Horsburgh, would be a most worthy memento of the deceased, and a most useful beacon for the mariner frequenting the Straits of Singapore. This subject will, we hope, receive its just support, especially from those in England, and in the United States of America, who are interested in eastern commerce. The following letter will show the views of the Horsburgh committee here: it is dated Canton, January 19th, 1838, and addressed —

"To William Stanley Clarke, esq., and the members of the committee for the Horsburgh memorial, London.

"Gentlemen,— The active and judicious measures you have taken to further the views of the general committee, in raising funds for the purpose of erecting a lasting tribute to the memory of one who toiled through a long life for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, meets with the sincere thanks and warmest approbation of your fellow-laborers at Canton in so pleasing a task. The only point in which our feelings appear not to be unanimous, is, respecting the manner in which that tribute should be paid. You propose that it should be by a monument erected in St. Paul's, or Westminster Abbey,—we, that it should be by a Light House on one of those spots through which, surrounded with all its difficulties, he has traced a safe and comparatively easy navigation. It is true, that, by placing his monument with those of our illustrious dead, you accord him that place which he held among the living, but there it would end. The chisel of the artist would be admired, while the deeds of the man would be passed over in silence and neglect. We have already invited all nations to join us in our undertaking, and we look to America, Holland, and France, with the most sanguine hopes. We submit, then, our opinion to you, whether we should not take into consideration the character of the man who has immortalized himself, and to whose memory we can only add a tribute of esteem; and, if so, would it not be a greater testimony of gratitude to follow a course in unison with the feelings which animated that benevolent being while alive, by building a *Light House* on some spot where ships are constantly going on shore, that he may still be instrumental in benefiting mankind, by saving many a ship from destruction. By this you will perceive it is our wish to adhere to the plan which we originally proposed; but, as a proof of our anxiety to cooperate with you, we will originate a subscription for the furtherance of your views, in hopes that many of this community will join in it; and, in return, we beg to solicit that you will use your influence to procure subscribers to cooperate with us, in the view we have taken.—In reply to the apprehension, expressed in your letter, of not being able to procure sufficient funds for the object we have in view, we venture to call your attention to the extent of the subscriptions already received, and to remind you that, even upon your plan of limiting subscriptions from individuals to one guinea, leaving firms and public bodies

unlimited, there will be no occasion for supposing that a sufficient sum will not be procured for the erecting of one Light House, at least. The spot we propose for the first is Pedra Branca; and the list of vessels which have been lost or stranded there, in a short space of time, the names of which we subjoin for your information, will, we think, influence you considerably in giving us all the aid you can, and fully explain the motives which guide us.

"We have the honor to remain, yours, &c. (Signed) William Jardine, John Hine, William Blenkin, Lancelot Dent, E. C. Bridgman, Dadabhoy Rustomjee, J. Archer.

"The following is the list of vessels referred to above. Nova Desada, Sylph, Pascoa, Lord Amherst, Ruby, Lord W. Bentinck, Glenelg, Ardeseer.

(Signed) WILLIAM HAYLETT. *Hon. Sec.*

On the 5th instant Mr. Haylett issued the following circular, which we copy from the Canton Register.

"Circular.—A subscription having been set on foot in London, limited to one guinea, for raising a monument to the memory of Horsburgh, his friends in China are invited to join in this smaller compliment, hoping it will induce those at home to concur in the larger and more comprehensive one commenced abroad, and to which America and Europe will, it is confidently hoped, largely contribute."

The United States' expedition to the South Seas, is a leading topic in the North American Review for last October. The first and chief object of the expedition will be, according to the review, 'to furnish, as far as is practicable, *a complete chart of the Pacific.*' A good object, and a great one it is, surely. In the reviewer's estimation, it seems very plausible and reasonable to conclude, (we speak under correction,) that 'a way clear to the very axis of the earth' may be found. What duration, or whether any, is assigned to the expedition, we do not know; but we are happy in the assurance given, that its labors are not to be confined within the antarctic circle, nor the high austral latitudes. We wish it might have a few years for cruising in the Chinese and Japanese waters, of which, as well as of some parts of the Indian archipelago and the adjacent seas, careful surveys and 'a complete chart' are much needed. It has long been a matter of surprise and regret with us, that these parts of the ocean are not brought more directly under the guardianship of those great and powerful nations of the west, which have such vast interest here at stake.—Besides furnishing a complete chart of the Pacific, 'another prime object of the voyage,—we do not know if it should not take the precedence of all others,—is the release of those unhappy men who are detained on these islands.' There is no lack of considerations for prosecuting this part of the general plan. But, says the reviewer,

"There is another useful end which will probably be subserved by the expedition; we mention it with some reluctance, but under a sense of the imperious necessity that the subject should be brought clearly before the public. As a class, the mariners engaged in the South Sea trade and fisheries sustain a high reputation for enterprise, intelligence, and good principles. They have been large contributors, not only to our national prosperity, but

to some departments of science; and we would be far from wishing to diminish the sense of the obligation we are under to them, on these accounts. But in so numerous a class, there must be and there are many exceptions; more, in fact, than would be at first thought. Though, if we reflect upon the immense restraining power of public opinion, which among large masses encompasses and influences all, like the 'universal air,' if we consider how much of the propriety of conduct in a community is due to the fear of the law and the restraint of social ties, we shall not be surprised to learn that some, who at home filled their parts respectably, should, on reaching a region, where none of these influences are strongly felt, and some not felt at all, give free scope to the passions hitherto shackled, and become almost mates for the savages around them. It is *known* to those who have made inquiries on this subject, that scenes of cruelty, licentiousness, and extortion, are acted in the recesses of this vast sea, the details of which are sometimes too shocking to be repeated. Mutinies are not uncommon, and those accompanied with murder; and tyranny on the part of the captains is too often the cause. Wanton inhumanity towards the natives is the source of many a terrible retribution, which falls sometimes on the heads of the unoffending." *p.* 374.

All the reviewer says on this point should be reëchoed back on the ears of the western governments and people in tones, loud as 'the voice of many waters.' What was it, recently, that induced the Japanese to open their batteries on a friendly unarmed merchantman? Such savage hostility could not have sprung up and become so strong and deadly without adequate causes: what were they? The reminiscences of past centuries? Or the '*pranks of our whalemen?*' More than once, and within a very short period, we have heard of rumors and suspicions, respecting proceedings on the coasts of Japan, which ought to awaken inquiry. It ought to be known, whether foreigners have or have not been guilty of outrages on the people of that country. Here we cannot forbear making one more short extract from the Review.

"It is difficult for men in the seclusion of a study, or engaged in the quiet avocations of common life, to measure the degree of criminality incurred by those who, removed from the restraints of civilization, are subjected to the toils, the perils, and the wearing vicissitudes of a nautical existence, exposed to continual excitement, and alternating from the most alluring sensual temptations to the rude trials of an harassing pursuit. But though we may hesitate before censuring, in the severest terms, the excesses of which some are guilty, we cannot doubt the propriety of using every effort for their suppression. And this, we conceive, may be accomplished by a process as simple as that of introducing fresh air into a receiver, to resuscitate a dying flame. We would, if possible, bring these seas, or at least their visitants, again within the pale of social influence. We would extend over them once more the dominion of that opinion, which, if not the best restraining force, is yet, with most, the mightiest. This could be done by giving them to perceive, that their actions, in the remotest recesses, are not secure from animadversion, and that the law extends its *surveillance* even over the barbarians whom they maltreat. The visit of a ship of war, bringing authority to inquire into cases of misconduct and to take measures for preventing future irregularities, will without doubt have a most beneficial effect. Consuls, with sufficient salaries, should be appointed at the principal civilized ports in the Pacific, and friendly arrangements entered into with such of the native tribes as possess governments of sufficient stability. Every reasonable provision should be made, not only for redressing grievances, but also for facilitating the labors of the whale-

men, and removing those difficulties, which the distance from all regular authorities, and the want of settled rules of intercourse, must create." *p.* 375.

A Scientific Faculty, 'complete in all its departments,' is attached to the expedition. It is pleasing to know, that ample provision has been made, and excellent 'suggestions' furnished, to facilitate the researches of this scientific corps. We should like to quote, especially from the 'suggestions' of professors Silliman and Gibbs and of Mr. Pickering published in the Review; but our limits forbid it.

Of the desirableness — nay the strong necessity — of extensive and accurate surveys in the eastern seas, there can be but one opinion. On such an object some of the 'surplus revenue' of the United States may well be expended — honor, advantage, duty, all require it. It is a noble object, on which the growing energies of that republic will find free scope, and, if wisely directed, reap a rich harvest. On those wide waters, the navies of the old world and the new should join their forces, not in bloody conflicts, but in useful action: and this they should continue, till all the inhabitants and productions of the isles, and all the treasures and dangers of the deep, are made known; and the highway of the nations is rendered safe for the peaceful and more wide extension of commerce, science, and religion.

ART. VI. *Obituary notice of the late reverend Alanson Reed, with a brief notice of his life and character.* Communicated from Bankok, Siam, September 14th, 1837, by E G. J.

ALANSON REED was a native of Cummington, Massachusetts. When about twenty years of age he gave his heart to God, and, from the time of his conversion, he had strong desires, and a determination, if possible, to devote his life to the service of Christ among those who had never heard of his salvation. But he was the youngest and favorite child of a widowed mother, whom he loved with uncommon ardor, and she was not willing that he should expose himself to the privations and trials of a missionary's life. On her account he repressed, for a season, his strong desire to enter immediately on a course of preparation for the work, and waited with the hope that Providence would make his path plainer. But after two or three years, spent on a farm, he began to feel that his youth was wearing away, and that he must enter without delay on the path he had chosen. He accordingly commenced studying for the ministry, and subsequently spent all the earthly wealth of which he was possessed to make comfortable provision for his beloved parent; but, before his education was completed, she entered on her eternal rest, and was thus spared the pain she so much dreaded, of seeing her son leave his native shores. Sometime previous to his departure his mind was directed to China, and he at length resolved to devote himself to a mission to that empire. Accordingly, he sailed from Boston on the 22d of September, 1835, with a large company of missionaries destined to Hindustan, Burmah, Siam, and China.

He arrived, with several fellow laborers, at Singapore, in March, 1836, from whence, in compliance with his official instructions, he came up to Bankok, in the following July. Here he found multitudes of Chinese, and immediately entered on the study of the Taychew (Chaouchow) dialect, striving to put every fresh acquisition into immediate use, and to do all the good he was able. He wisely chose to employ Chinese servants, and after studying a few months, he employed his teacher to read the Chinese Scriptures at family worship; and before the expiration of a year from the commencement of his Chinese studies, he tried to pray regularly in that language with his family. He said he found it hard to frame petitions in Chinese; but the only way in which he could learn to pray with his servants, was, first to use the language in his private devotions. In answer to a question which his wife once asked, if he did not sometimes find his thoughts dwelling on the pleasant situation he might have occupied at home, he said, 'No, I love my work.' But he did not consider Siam as his home. China was his destination, and he was constantly watching for some way to open, by which he could enter it. But it was not the misnamed, but the true, celestial empire which God designed him soon to enter.

Several attacks of dysentery, from which he speedily recovered, had already impeded his progress in study, when in July last he was more violently seized with the same disorder, and brought to the borders of the grave. The prompt and powerful remedies administered by a most assiduous medical brother, and the unremitted care of his family and friends, were, however, blessed to his recovery; and he was considered convalescent. At this time, the only missionary belonging to the Chinese department of our mission was compelled by sickness to take a voyage, and Mr. and Mrs. Reed removed from an uncomfortable floating-house to the one vacated by him, on the mission premises. Here we hoped soon to see him engaged in taking charge of the little Chinese church, and Sabbath congregation, now left destitute, and in communicating the knowledge of a Savior's love to the many patients who daily came for medicine. But God's thoughts were not as our thoughts, and his ways were not to be as we hoped, in relation to our beloved brother. A few days after his removal, a fatal relapse ensued, which in one week laid him in the grave. At first, he thought his complaint would again yield to medicine; but this hope soon failed. On the 25th of August, he said to a friend who was sitting by, 'I never before had a sense of what it is to approach death; I was thinking of it this morning, and the thought almost overwhelmed me.' He then compared the view which the Christian has of Christ to seeing objects through ground glass windows, and mentioned a particular time when he looked through such windows. 'I never,' said he, 'felt the beauty of that comparison of Paul, "Now we see through a glass, darkly," till then. We sometimes think we get near to Jesus, but even then we see him darkly, obscurely: "in heaven we shall see him face to face."' Here he was interrupted by a distressing hiccough with which he was troubled, and remarked, 'I have not said half I have to say, but I *must* stop.'

On the evening of the same day, his fever became very high, and perceiving that we were alarmed, he said, 'I hope none of you will hesitate to tell me what you think of my situation: do not keep any thing from me.' Dr. B. then said to him, 'Brother Reed, you are very ill, we fear you will die; it would not be surprising if you should not live till the morning.' On hearing this he seemed a little agitated, and covered his face with his hand, but made no reply. A few moments afterwards, a female friend sat down by his bed-side, when he said to her, 'Perhaps I may be in—I was going to say, heaven,—before morning: yes, I *may* say in heaven, I can trust in my blessed Savior. We have ties to earth, our families;' then covering his face with his hand again he continued, 'but I can trust.' He then commended his wife to her care, as he had before done to her husband's, and then went on to make known his wishes respecting his domestic affairs, at some length. After an interval of rest he said, 'I thought I heard the Doctor speak of staying all night.' It was replied, 'Yes, he has sent his boat home, and is going to stay.' 'The Lord reward him,' said he. Shortly afterward he was asked, if he could think connectedly. His emphatic reply was, 'I can think enough to fill my heart with gratitude. God has been showing me what a great sinner I am.' About two hours after this he expressed a wish to have all his missionary brethren and sisters come into his room, and unite in prayer. 'I do not know,' said he, 'that I have any thing *in particular* to pray for; I have been very desirous to recover, that I may preach Christ to the heathen; but since the last relapse, I cannot pray for my life. Whenever I attempt to do so, it seems like praying to be kept from the bosom of my Savior.' Seven of us were, in a few moments, assembled around his bed, when, after he had repeated the above remark, a brother offered prayer. He united his hands on his breast, and gave intimations of fixed attention, and of joining in the petition, and at the close repeated the Amen three times. The next morning his fever abated, and he was more comfortable though gradually growing weaker through the two following days, during which he conversed familiarly of his approaching dissolution, and gave directions in regard to a great variety of things, making his preparations as calmly as if he were but on the eve of a journey to another country. He spoke of an absent brother missionary, and when he heard of his temporary return, was impatient to see him.

It seemed as if his love to Christ and Christian brethren increased every hour. His love for souls increased also. He called his servants, and most earnestly besought them to believe in Jesus. The next day (the 28th) his mind wandered, and he was distressed with temptation, imagining that Satan was with him. At evening, during an interval of calmness, a female friend came and said, 'I trust, brother Reed, you have the presence of the Savior at this trying hour.' He replied, 'Yes, if Satan does not have me to sift me as wheat.' Another, who was sitting by, said, 'Jesus has prayed for you that your faith fail not; he caught the idea and said, with great emphasis, 'blessed Lord.' During the night he raved much, and had no ratio-

nal intervals. The next morning he again became calm, his reason was perfectly restored and remained so to the last. But he could not speak, although he made great efforts to do so—drawing the ear of one friend, and then another, close to his mouth, and endeavoring to whisper. He made us understand by signs, that he wished to bid us all farewell. Each successively placed a hand in his, which he pressed, with eyes fixed first on us, and then raised to heaven. It was his parting blessing. We called his distressed wife, who nerved herself to great calmness, that she might not disturb him, yet, when he looked upon her, his lips quivered, and his whole frame became agitated. But it was for a moment only. He soon became composed, and, fervently pressing her hand, with uplifted eyes mentally commended her to heaven. He then looked about for the absent ones, and when all had come in and taken leave of him, he tried to make us understand, that he wished for prayer, and it was a minute or two before he could succeed; but at length one said, 'perhaps it is prayer,' when he immediately raised his hands on his breast and looked at a missionary brother, as much as to say, *that* is what I want. We knelt once more around his bed, while that brother prayed. He remained with his hands raised, and at the close endeavored to say Amen, but could not articulate. Through the day he had some dying struggles, but his mind seemed intent on heavenly glories. He kept pointing upwards, not merely in one direction, but to this side and that, as if he saw the splendor of the upper world, and once he was heard to whisper 'wonders, wonders.' To use an expression employed at his funeral, 'when he could no longer speak he pointed upward and stretched out his arms as though they were wings to fly away to heaven.' His last words were, 'come Jesus' and 'mercy.' About 4 o'clock P. M. of that day (Aug. 29th), his spirit returned to the God who gave it, leaving most sublime evidence of the truth and value of our holy religion, not only to his sorrowing brethren, but to a considerable number of heathens, who one after another came in to witness his dying deportment. He was 30 years of age. Not soon do we who knew him expect to see another more eminently qualified, by ardent piety, singleness and firmness of purpose, and zeal for the conversion of sinners, to be a missionary to the heathen.

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Peking Gazettes; care of the treasury; northwest frontier; surplus of revenue; religious observances of the government; repairs; literary examinations; resignation of office; Mongolia; a naval officer; review of forces; burning of opium; the lieut.-governor.*

THERE are many papers, inserted in the Peking Gazettes which, though wanting interest in themselves, are yet worthy of being placed on record, as illustrating points in the policy or the machinery of the Chinese government. Such are several of the short extracts which follow.

Care of the treasury. The 'great ministers of the treasure and stores' are commanded to give instructions, 'that the old practice fall not into desuetude, but that one of four subordinate officers daily take it in turn to remain at the treasury throughout the day, and also to *pass the night* there. The actual condition of things, must be, from time to time inquired into, and any absence or remissness in attendance must be reported to his majesty.'

Northwest frontier. The money required in this district is always drawn a year in advance. The estimated amount required at Oushi, for 1839 is 32,000 taels; at Aksou, 19,000 taels, besides 1200 taels as salary to prince Isak or Isaac, a Mohammedan noble. Of the sums required in the other cantons, we do not find any mention.

From Shantung, a surplus of land revenue, to the amount of 400,000 taels was forwarded last year to Peking.

Religious observances of the government. The emperor, if we may judge by the increased honors paid hy him to the gods, is growing, in his old age, more attentive than formerly to the subject of religion. Would that the saving truths of the religion which he denounces—the religion of the Lord of heaven and earth, could be imparted to him!—The religious observances of the government in China consist in reading prayers composed for the occasion, and burning incense at the shrines of the gods. The prayers are issued in much the same manner as the edicts of the government, being brought in open court to receive the impress of the imperial, or, in less exalted cases, of the magisterial seal. Our present lieut.-governor is very regular in these religious observances; almost daily during the past month, he has been engaged in burning incense at one or other of the numerous temples of this metropolis: and the territorial and financial commissioner of the province went, during the month, about a day's journey, with two magistrates to aid him, to sacrifice to the god of the southern sea.—Another mode in which the emperor pays honor to the gods, is, by writing inscriptions to be placed over the doorways of their temples. Requests for such inscriptions occur several times among the official documents inserted in the Gazettes now before us.

Repairs. Another frequent subject of notice in the Gazettes, is, the collection of subscriptions for repairs of public edifices, temples, &c. These subscriptions, as well as others for charitable purposes, and for various public objects, are encouraged and rewarded by the conferment of rank upon the larger contributors, or by records of approbation when these contributors are officers in the employ of government.

The literary examinations of the past year have occasioned numerous complaints of misconduct on the part of candidates, and many orders rebuking and sometimes degrading the officers from whose neglect of duty their misconduct arose. The reports of the provincial authorities as to the deficiencies and disabilities of various officers occupy also a large space in the gazettes.

One of the imperial family, who, having taken one of the lower literary degrees, has from that gradually advanced in office, requests permission to resign his present situation, that he may give himself up to study, with the hope of taking a higher degree at the examinations

Mongolia. An officer has been sent thither, as envoy, to inquire into charges brought by a Mongol tribe against the head of their clan.

A naval officer in Fuhkeën having been found absent from his post, is removed from his office, and required to show proofs of reform by the apprehension of pirates within the space of three months.

Review of forces. The governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse left Canton at the close of February to review the troops in Kwangse, and is expected to return in a few days.

Burning of opium was announced in the Court Circular of Canton on the 20th instant, as having been enacted that day under the direction of the local authorities. This farce is becoming of frequent occurrence, while the smuggling of the drug is carried on to an extent here never before witnessed. Almost every part of the river, from the Bogne on the east, to the *Hwátí* on the west of the city, is made the theatre of the traffic.

The lieut.-governor, or fooyuen, of Canton has been appointed to a presidency of the Board of Punishments at Peking. His birthday occurred on the 8th instant.